

HISTORY, LEADERS.



The REPUBLICAN
PARTY.

By E. V. Smalley.



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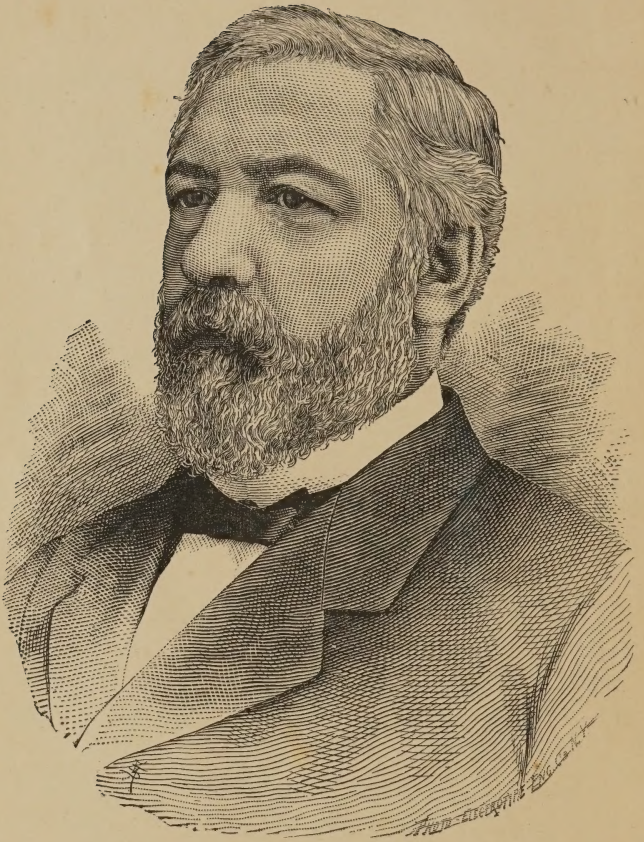
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JAMES G. BLAINE.

A BRIEF HISTORY
OF THE
REPUBLICAN PARTY.

FROM ITS ORGANIZATION TO THE PRESIDENTIAL
CAMPAIGN OF 1884.

By EUGENE V. SMALLEY.

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INTRODUCTION.

THE purpose of this work is to describe very briefly the origin, rise, and growth of the Republican Party, its great achievements in moulding public opinion, and its important work of administration and legislation. Since the party was formed, a new generation of voters has come upon the stage of political action, to whom its early history is little more than a tradition. A brief résumé of that history must be interesting and instructive to these young Republicans who have taken up the work of the party and are to carry it on after all its founders have passed away, and its older members can hardly fail to find some pleasure and profit in reviewing the story of its organization and victories. No party ever had such a record. It has freed four millions of slaves; it has suppressed the most formidable rebellion the world ever saw; it has preserved and strengthened the credit of the nation; it has conferred equal rights of suffrage and citizenship upon all the inhabitants of this Republic, and it has administered the Government for twenty-four years with signal fidelity, honor, and intelligence. Within the compass of a work so limited as this, it is not possible to go into many interesting details concerning the career of this great historic party. Very little can be said about its action in State campaigns and its position upon State issues. Its history as a national organization alone is dealt with in the following pages, and that, too, in as condensed a form as is consistent with the presentation of all important facts.

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A BRIEF HISTORY OF THE REPUBLICAN PARTY.

CHAPTER I.

EARLY PARTIES IN THE UNITED STATES.

ALL political parties that have exerted marked influence upon their times, have had their beginnings far back of the period of their organization. Parties are somewhat like generations of men. The characteristics of any single generation cannot properly be studied without some knowledge of those that have gone before. It occasionally happens that a party comes up suddenly on some transient wave of popular excitement, growing out of events essentially temporary in their nature, or springs from some fictitious issue, magnified into importance for the time being by the lack of any real fundamental question affecting the Government and the interests of the people. The roots of such parties are never worth seeking, because the plant itself bears no seed and soon withers and disappears.

The Republican Party was the child of the conscience of the North, aroused, at length, to assertion by the growth of the institution of slavery. In its embryonic forms, it existed almost from the beginning of the Government. It did not gain strength and individuality, however, until more than half a century after the adoption of the Federal Constitution. A

brief examination of the history of the parties preceding it is essential to an understanding of the changes in public sentiment which at last developed this most important, most powerful, and most moral of all the political organizations that have thus far arisen in the United States.

During the Revolution there were but two parties in the country: the Patriot Party, supporting the effort for separate national life, and the Tory Party, which opposed the severing of the Colonies from the mother country. After the recognition of American Independence parties soon divided on the question of forming a closer union between the States. One, known as the Federalist Party, favored the adoption of a Constitution creating a strong, enduring National Government, and the other, called the Anti-Federalist Party, desired to uphold the rights of the States as separate and sovereign, and to continue the mere league between them formed by the Articles of Confederation. The feebleness of the old system became more and more apparent, and a convention, called in 1787, for the purpose of amending and strengthening the Articles of Confederation, adopted a Constitution, after a four months' session, and thus created a new government, with independent and sovereign powers within its own prescribed functions. This new government had no model in history. The Swiss Republic was, at that time, a league of cantons, closely resembling our own form of government prior to the adoption of the Constitution. No model was found in antiquity for the experiment. It was, therefore, only natural that the scheme of resting a central authority upon thirteen independent State Governments should awake scepticism and resistance. The Anti-Federalist Party opposed the ratification of the Constitution, and was successful in several States in delaying, for a time, their assent to it. The position of the Anti-Federalists was that a single executive head was dangerous. They feared, above all things, that the country would lapse back into a monarchical condition and lose its liberties. The value and necessity of a National Government was, however, so clear, that the Federalists were in a large majority in the country and held the administration for twelve years. In 1788 they elected George Washington, President, and John Adams, Vice-President. At that time the Constitution required the electors to vote for two candidates for President. The one having the highest number of votes became President, and the one next highest, became Vice-President. This system continued until 1804, when the present plan was

adopted. During Washington's first administration, a fresh cause for a division of parties was found in the French question. The Anti-Federalists, led by Jefferson, were warm sympathizers with France, and desired that the new American Republic should, in some form, give assistance to its recent ally. The Federalists favored a strict neutrality between Republican France and her enemies. Party feeling ran high at the second Presidential election in 1792, but Washington again received the unanimous vote of the Electoral College. Adams was again chosen Vice-President, receiving 77 votes, against 55, of which 50 were cast for George Clinton, the candidate of the Anti-Federalists.

About this time the Anti-Federalists began to drop their party name and to take the name of Democrats. Thomas Jefferson, their great leader, objected, however, to the use of the word Democrat and sought to secure the adoption of the name Republican. Backed by his influence, this name struggled for a time for recognition and was used to some extent in a few States, but was not generally adopted. Most of the old Anti-Federalists preferred the term Democrat as implying more fully hostility to the assumption of governmental powers threatening the individual rights of citizens. In 1796 the Federalists elected John Adams, President. He received 71 electoral votes and Jefferson, his opponent, receiving 68, became Vice-President. Troubles with France arose and nearly resulted in war. During these troubles Congress passed two acts, known as the Alien and Sedition Laws; one empowering the President to order aliens who were conspiring against the peace of the United States to quit the country, and the other providing for the punishment of seditious libels upon the Government. These laws created much party feeling and were denounced by the Democrats as tyrannical and unconstitutional. They contributed very largely to the overthrow of the Federal Party at the Presidential election of 1800, when Mr. Adams was a candidate for re-election. The Democrats voted for Jefferson and Burr, and gave them 73 votes each in the Electoral College, while Adams received 65, Pinckney 64, and John Jay 1. The election was thrown into the House of Representatives by a tie between Jefferson and Burr. Jefferson was chosen President and Burr Vice-President. After Jefferson entered the Executive office, his old views about diminishing the powers of the General Government were considerably modified. He gave the country a vigorous and successful administration and was re-

elected in 1804, by 162 electoral votes. The Federalists voted for Pinckney of South Carolina, and Rufus King of New York, and were able to control only 16 electoral votes. Jefferson declined to be a candidate for a third term, and the Democrats selected as their nominee his friend, James Madison, whose home near Charlottesville, Va., was almost in sight from Jefferson's house at Monticello. During the last year of Jefferson's administration, the Federalists gained considerable fresh vitality through the popular opposition to what was known as the Embargo, an act of Congress prohibiting American vessels from trading with foreign ports. It was adopted out of revenge for the insolent actions of Great Britain and France, which arbitrarily searched American ships on the high seas and often seized them and confiscated their cargoes. The embargo was fatal for a time to the commercial interests of the United States, and was repealed in 1809. At the election of 1808, the name Democrat was almost universally adopted by the party supporting Madison. Madison received 122 votes and George Clinton 113, while the Federal candidates, C. C. Pinckney, and Rufus King, received 47 each. The war of 1812, which practically began in 1811, by British emissaries inciting the Indian tribes of the Northwest to hostile acts, nearly obliterated party lines for a time. Both of the parties supported the war when it was fairly begun. The Federalists continued their organization, however, and at the election of 1812, gave 89 votes for De Witt Clinton, against 128 for Madison. In 1816 the Democrats nominated for President, James Monroe, Mr. Madison's Secretary of State, Madison himself declining a third term. It is difficult at this distance to understand what were the issues of that contest, but it is plain that the old political parties had nearly exhausted their motives of controversy and that the questions debated were rather the traditions of old struggles than anything fresh and vital. Monroe received 183 votes, against 24 given to Rufus King by the States of Massachusetts, Connecticut, and Delaware. Now began what is known in our political history as the "era of good feeling." No one was disposed longer to question the utility of the Federal Government, and on the other hand, no one was disposed to assert for it any dangerous or monarchical powers. Both the Democrats and the Federalists supported Monroe, and he was re-elected in 1820, by all of the electoral votes save one.

CHAPTER II.

THE BEGINNING OF THE ANTI-SLAVERY MOVEMENT.

Up to 1820, the existence of slavery in the United States had been regarded as a misfortune by the people of all sections of the country. Indeed, among the causes of grievances brought against Great Britain, was her action in forcing the slave trade upon the colonies against their will. With scarcely an exception, the early statesmen of the Republic looked upon the institution of slavery as an evil which would gradually be gotten rid of by wise emancipation measures. Looking to that end, the slave trade was prohibited and ranked with piracy, as a crime, as early as 1808. Mr. Jefferson, the head of the Democratic party, was one of the most enlightened opponents of slavery, and was far from foreseeing that the party which he had founded would in after-years, become its chief defender. The first anti-slavery society in the country was formed by the Quakers of Pennsylvania, but there were, at an early period, organizations of emancipationists in the South who kept up some agitation in behalf of measures for getting rid of the institution by the action of the State Governments. One after another of the Northern States where slavery existed provided for its gradual abolition, and the sentiment in the North was so nearly unanimous in opposition to fastening slavery permanently upon the country that it insisted that for every new Southern State which came in, a Northern free State should be admitted. Thus, Vermont, Ohio, and Indiana compensated for Kentucky, Tennessee, and Louisiana; and later, Maine counterbalanced Alabama. Thus far, the number of free and slave States was equal. Then the question arose in 1820 about admitting Missouri with a slave Constitution. It gave rise to a vehement public discussion which was rather sectional than political. The people of the Northern States insisted that a clause prohibiting slavery should be inserted in the Missouri Constitution as a condition of the admission of that State. The struggle went on in Congress for over two years. While it aroused the anti-slavery sentiment of the North, which had been almost dormant, it also had the effect of inciting the South to a united and earnest defence of an institution which had before been regretted, even in that section, as

undesirable and temporary in its nature. A compromise, devised by Henry Clay, settled the struggle for the time being. Missouri was admitted with slavery, but an act was passed prohibiting slavery in all the new territory lying north of latitude 36 degrees and 30 minutes, which was the Southern boundary of Missouri. This settlement became known as the "Missouri Compromise." The North gained nothing that did not belong to it before and the South secured the admission of a new slave State, north of the old line separating freedom from slavery. This line was known as "Mason and Dixon's Line," from the names of two surveyors who, at an early day, ran the boundary between Maryland and Pennsylvania. The measure was universally adopted in the political discussions of the time to designate the line between the North and the South—the free States and the slave States. The "Missouri Compromise" laid the foundation of the Republican Party, by creating in the mind of the North, a distrust of the South and by developing a political force in the country which received the significant designation of the Slave Power. This force, in the course of time, suppressed all opposition to slavery in the South and asserted the right to convert the whole unoccupied territory of the United States into slave States, and to carry its human chattles into the Northern States under the protection of the Federal Government, in defiance of the laws of those States. Resistance to the slave power and its demands formulated itself in the course of time into the Republican Party.

CHAPTER III.

THE WHIG AND DEMOCRATIC PARTIES.

MONROE's administration is chiefly famous in history for its recognition of the Spanish-American Republics and its declaration of what is known as the "Monroe Doctrine," an assertion that any attempt on the part of European Governments to extend their systems to any portion of the American Continent would be considered to be dangerous to the peace and safety of the United States. The destruction of party lines under Monroe's administration went so far that in the election of 1824 no reorganization on the basis of old ideas was practicable. There were four candidates for the Presidency. Andrew Jackson received 99 votes, John Quincy Adams 84, William H.

Crawford 41, and Henry Clay 37. The election was thrown into the House of Representatives, and Mr. Adams was chosen President. The administration of the new President, who was a son of the great Federalist, John Adams, might have been expected to restore the Federal Party, but that party had outlived its usefulness. It had witnessed a complete success of its ideas respecting the National Government and there was no occasion for its revival. The supporters of Mr. Adams called themselves National Republicans, but the name did not long survive. Mr. Adams's policy did not differ much from that of Mr. Monroe. The distinguishing event of his administration was the adoption of the protective tariff system which was favored by the North and opposed by the South. Parties degenerated into factions and the personal popularity of the political leaders had more to do with their success than any principles they professed. In 1828, Mr. Adams was a candidate for re-election, but was defeated by Andrew Jackson, who had 178 votes, to Adams's 83. Jackson was a narrow-minded man of limited education, strong prejudices, violent temper, and little schooling in statesmanship, whose popularity grew out of his success as a military commander. He introduced personal government at Washington to a far greater extent than any of his predecessors or successors. Fealty to him, personally, was the chief test of merit in his eyes. For a time the country was divided into a Jackson party and an anti-Jackson party, all other names being lost sight of. Jackson brought into American politics the theory that "to the victors belong the spoils;" and was the first President who removed from office all persons not favorable to him politically. John Quincy Adams had made a few removals of officials in high position, but there was a great public clamor against him for these acts. Jackson swept the entire public service of everybody who had not favored his election, and filled the offices with his personal partisans. The corruption of American politics in more recent times is largely due to this high-tempered, bigoted, and egotistical man; but his glaring faults almost merit complete forgiveness, in view of his great service to the country in suppressing the nullification movement in South Carolina.

Up to this time, the South, and particularly the Democratic Party in the South, had asserted the doctrine, that the Constitution is a federal compact between sovereign States, and that in such compacts between sovereigns who are equal there is no arbiter, each State being the rightful judge, as a party to the

compact, of the constitutionality of any measure of the General Government. This view was asserted by the Legislatures of Virginia and Kentucky, in what are generally called the resolutions of 1798. The doctrine that each State can judge for itself whether the laws or the action of the Government is constitutional or not became in time a part of the platform of principles of the Democratic Party, and was held to with particular zeal by the people of the South. In 1832, South Carolina, under the lead of John C. Calhoun, endeavored to resist the enforcement of the new tariff law, by a process called nullification. Less from statesmanship and patriotism, perhaps, than from motives of personal hostility to Mr. Calhoun, President Jackson threw himself with all the force of his resolute nature upon the other side, and declared his intention to treat nullification as treason, and to hang the men who resisted the authority of the United States. He ordered a large armed force to Charleston and thus put an end to the incipient movement for dissolving the Union. His vigorous conduct caused the total abandonment of the theory that a State can set aside the laws of the United States at its pleasure. The South shifted its policy, and soon began to rally on a new position, namely, that when a State does not like the conduct of the General Government, it has a right to secede from the Union.

The nullification question was not taken up as a party issue, and, indeed, Jackson gave it very little time to ferment in the public mind. He furnished the country with an issue, however, by assailing the Bank of the United States, an institution modelled somewhat after the Bank of England and having close relations to the Government. It is said that Jackson's hostility to the bank arose from the refusal of one of its branches in the South to cash his checks when he was carrying on the Florida War. In 1832, the President recommended the removal of the public funds from the bank. Congress refused to authorize the removal. Then Jackson, on his own responsibility, ordered the Secretary to withdraw the deposits and place them in certain State banks. That officer refusing, he was removed and Mr. Taney appointed to his place. The bank was broken down, a great financial panic followed, and serious commercial distress afflicted the country. The opponents of Jackson's policy toward the bank organized themselves under the name of the Whig Party, taking this name because the Whig Party in England had resisted the arbitrary measures of the king. Thus, by a curious change of the political situation, the leader of the

Democrats, the party formed to resist strong government in this country, became the type and exemplar of the strong government idea, and the Whigs, the successors of the Federalists, became, as they imagined, the defenders of the people against the encroachments of Executive power. In 1832, just before the bank question came up, Jackson was re-elected by 219 electoral votes, against a divided opposition, casting 49 votes for Henry Clay, 11 for John Floyd, and 7 for William Wirt. A short-lived popular excitement against secret societies, and especially against the Masons, had sprung up, and Wirt was the candidate of a new party called the Anti-Masonic Party. He received the electoral vote of Vermont. Martin Van Buren was chosen Vice-President. In 1836, General Jackson put forward Mr. Van Buren as his successor. The bank question, the tariff question, and opposition to the personal government of Jackson were the chief issues. Jackson had made a powerful impression on the rather unorganized public sentiment of the country by his boldness and independence, and his influence was still sufficient to secure the election of Van Buren, who received 170 electoral votes. The Whig vote was divided between William Henry Harrison, 73; Hugh L. White, 26; Daniel Webster, 14; and Willie P. Mangum, 11. Up to 1832 national nominating conventions were unknown. A party caucus of members of Congress selected the candidates for President and Vice-President, and not unfrequently State Legislatures put candidates in the field. Van Buren's administration was exceedingly unpopular. The commercial crisis of 1837 and the hard times which followed reacted powerfully against the dominant party. The administration was charged with the dullness of trade, the stagnation of industry, the scarcity of good money, and the alarming number of business failures. More to the hard times than to any other cause was due the overwhelming success of the Whigs in 1840. The Whigs held a national convention at Harrisburg, in December, 1839, and nominated General William Henry Harrison for President, and John Tyler for Vice-President. The Democrats held their convention at Baltimore, in May, 1840, and unanimously nominated Van Buren for re-election. The campaign was the most exciting, demonstrative, and dramatic that had ever taken place in this country, and the result was that Harrison and Tyler received 234 electoral votes, and Van Buren 60. The Democratic vote for Vice-President was divided. Harrison's popular vote was 1,275,011, and that of Van Buren

1,128,702. Although Harrison's majority of the popular vote was a very small one, his electoral majority was enormous, a discrepancy which strikingly illustrates the peculiarity of our electoral system.

Harrison died a month after his inauguration—worried to death by office-seekers, it is said. His successor, John Tyler, proved treacherous to the Whig Party, espoused the views of the Democrats, changed his Cabinet, and finally went over to the Democratic side.

CHAPTER IV.

REVIVAL OF THE SLAVERY AGITATION—THE LIBERTY PARTY.

IN 1844, the Democrats nominated James K. Polk for President, and the Whigs nominated Henry Clay. The question of the extension of slave territory entered largely into the canvass. A treaty had been negotiated for the annexation of Texas, then an independent Republic, but still claimed by Mexico as a part of her dominions. The treaty was rejected by the Senate and the Democratic Party throughout the country took it up and declared in their conventions that it was a great American measure. The Whigs were nearly unanimous in their opposition to the Texan scheme; in the North, because of their unwillingness to give the slave power another State; in the South, on various grounds of expediency. The opposition of the Whigs was not sufficiently clear and earnest, however, to draw to their support all the voters hostile to the annexation project. A party was organized which took broad grounds against the extension of slavery and assumed for itself the name of the Liberty Party. It was, in fact, an offshoot from the anti-slavery organizations throughout the North. A struggle arose in the American Anti-slavery Society as to the duty of its members. One faction, headed by William Lloyd Garrison, abstained wholly from voting, on the ground that the Constitution was a covenant with the slave power to protect slavery. The other faction insisted that the way to fight slavery was to use the weapon of the ballot. This faction became the Liberty Party, and nominated James G. Birney for President. It was a very small party, but an exceedingly earnest one, and although it never had a majority in any State, and probably not in any county, it frequently held the balance of power, and exerted considerable influence on the two great parties. Just before the

lection of 1844, Mr. Clay wrote a letter which dissatisfied the Liberty Party and also the anti-slavery Whigs in the State of New York. About 16,000 votes were cast in New York for Brney and were mostly withdrawn from the Whig ticket. This defection caused the loss of the State to Clay, defeated him for the Presidency, and changed the whole subsequent history of the country. The result of the election was 174 votes for Polk and Dallas, and 105 for Clay and Frelinghuysen, the vote of New York turning the scale. Under Polk's administration, Texas was admitted and war was waged with Mexico. The war was opposed by most of the Northern Whigs who had begun to be considerably tinctured with anti-slavery sentiments, and still more strongly opposed by the Liberty Party men and the Garrisonians, now called by the name of Abolitionists, who believed that the purpose of the conflict was to secure more territory to be made into slave States.

The decline of the Whig Party dates from this period. As a national organization it was obliged to cater to the South, where a large part of its strength lay, and no positive declaration against the extension of slavery could be got from its conventions. At the same time a feeling of hatred to the slave power had obtained a firm lodgment in the mind of a large portion of its Northern members. The Whig Party embraced in its membership a much larger portion of the intelligent and educated classes of the country than its rival, the Democratic Party. In the South, these classes contented themselves with opposition to extreme pro-slavery measures threatening the perpetuity of the Union, but in the North they began more and more to demand such action as should stop the growth of the slave power and secure to freedom all the unoccupied territory of the United States.

CHAPTER V.

THE WILMOT PROVISIO—THE FREE SOIL PARTY—THE CAMPAIGN OF 1848.

It became apparent before the end of the war, that the defeat of Mexico would be followed by the cession of a large part of her territory to the United States, and the question began to be agitated in Congress as early as 1847, of what should be the condition of this territory in reference to slavery. At a consultation of members of the House from the free States, who

felt that the extreme limit of justifiable concession to slavery had already been reached, David Wilmot, of Pennsylvania, presented the following proviso, to be offered to any bill for the organization of new Territories: "That as an express and fundamental condition to the acquisition of new territory from the Republic of Mexico, by the United States, by virtue of any treaty that may be negotiated between them, and to the use by the Executive of any moneys herein appropriated, neither slavery nor involuntary servitude shall ever exist in any part of said territory, except for crime whereof the party shall first be duly convicted." This was the famous Wilmot Proviso which played a large part in the political history of the succeeding years. It served to bring together many members of both the Whig and Democratic organizations who were opposed to the extension of slavery. Its advocates were called in the political nomenclature of the day, "Wilmot Proviso Men," although they adhered for a time to their old party connections. The proviso was offered to the bill for negotiating a treaty with Mexico, but was defeated in the House.

In 1848 the Democrats nominated for President, General Lewis Cass, of Michigan. His principal competitors in the convention were James Buchanan and Levi Woodbury. The nominee for Vice-President was General William O. Butler, of Kentucky. The New York Democrats divided into two factions, one, called "Barn-burners," opposed the extension of slavery, and the other, styled "Hunkers," sympathized fully with the South. The "Barn-burners" bolted from the Democratic convention, and sent delegates to a national convention held at Buffalo, which organized a new party, called the Free Soil Party. The Free Soil Party was the legitimate successor of the Liberal Party of 1848. The Buffalo convention nominated Martin Van Buren for President, and Charles Francis Adams for Vice-President. Van Buren's nomination weakened the moral force of the new movement, for while President he had been a tool of the slave power, and only since his retirement to private life had he expressed himself against the extension of slavery to the Territories. The motive of his nomination was to secure the votes of the "Barn-burners" of New York and to defeat Cass.

The Whig National Convention met in Philadelphia and nominated General Zachary Taylor, of Louisiana, for President. His chief competitors for the nomination were Henry Clay, General Scott, and Daniel Webster. Taylor's nomina-

tion was exceedingly popular in the country on account of his brilliant service in the Mexican War and his lack of any political record with which fault could be found. The Democrats, in their convention, refused to endorse the extreme Southern view, that slaves were property and could be carried into the Territories under the protection of the Government. The Whigs dodged the slavery question altogether. The Free Soilers claimed that the Constitution was hostile to slavery and intended to limit it to the States where it existed by virtue of local laws, and further, that the Federal Government should relieve itself from all responsibility for the existence of the institution. At the election, General Taylor carried 15 States, with 163 electoral votes; and General Cass 15 States, with 137 electoral votes. Van Buren carried no State, but had a large vote throughout the North. The entire popular vote stood: Taylor and Fillmore, 1,360,752; Cass and Butler, 1,219,962; Van Buren and Adams, 291,342. The general effect of the canvass was to show that the Democrats were pretty thoroughly committed to the slave power and that the Whigs did not dare to antagonize it. The agitation produced by Van Buren's candidacy served a good purpose in further arousing public sentiment in the North to the encroachments of slavery.

CHAPTER VI.

THE COMPROMISE OF 1850 AND THE FUGITIVE-SLAVE LAW.

SOON after the peace with Mexico, which secured to the United States all the territory comprised in the present States of California and Nevada, and the Territories of Utah, Arizona, and New Mexico, gold was discovered in California, and an immense rush of emigration occurred. In a short time there were people enough there to form a State Government. They adopted a Constitution prohibiting slavery, and applied for admission to the Union. At that time there were 15 slave States and 15 free States, and the admission of California would place the free States in the majority of one. It was therefore vehemently opposed by the representatives of the slave power. Many slave States threatened secession if the new State should be admitted without some concessions to secure the equality of the South in the future. They demanded a recognition of their claim that slavery should not be prohibited in the Territories

or its existence be made an objection to the admission of a new State. They also demanded a guarantee against the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia, and a stringent fugitive-slave law. The contest in Congress lasted nearly two years, and was finally settled by what was known as the Compromise of 1850.

Zachary Taylor, who though a slaveholder did not sympathize with the extreme Southern view, had died before the controversy culminated, and Millard Fillmore, his successor, openly espoused the side of the pro-slavery leaders. The compromise was advocated by Henry Clay, and received, also, the support of the great Northern Whig leader, Daniel Webster, who abandoned his anti-slavery position and went over, with his great intellect and influence to the side of the slaveholders. His action divided the Whig party in the North and practically gave it a death-blow. Wm. H. Seward became the leader of the anti-slavery Whigs. The compromise of 1850 admitted California with its free constitution, and left for future settlement the status of the rest of the conquered territory in respect to slavery; rejected the Wilmot Proviso, and paid Texas \$10,000,000 for a visionary claim to the Territory of New Mexico; prohibited slave auctions in the District of Columbia, and enacted the fugitive-slave law. This law shocked the moral sense of the more intelligent portion of the American people and exerted a powerful influence in preparing men's minds for the advent of the Republican Party. It provided for the return of alleged fugitives without trial by jury, allowing their captors to take them before a United States Commissioner, who was empowered to remand them on the *ex-parte* depositions of the slave-catchers. The Commissioners were paid ten dollars in case they directed the return of the alleged fugitive, and five dollars if, for any cause, they decided against the claimant. In effect, therefore, they were offered a bribe to order the return of the person claimed as a slave. Slave-catchers were authorized to summon bystanders to their aid, and all good citizens were commanded to assist in the arrest of alleged fugitive slaves. The law, in effect, ordered the people of the North to turn slave-catchers themselves, and threatened them with heavy penalties in case they harbored or assisted fugitives. Several cases of extreme brutality arose from the execution of this law. Professional slave-hunters invaded the North and captured colored persons without much regard to whether they had run away from slavery or not. In some cases there was resistance

on the part of the people, and trials occurred which served to increase the irritation in the public mind. The law was vehemently denounced by the anti-slavery Whigs, the anti-slavery Democrats, and the Free Soilers, and the Abolitionists found in it a new text for the crusade they preached with so much earnestness and self-denial against the "sum of all villainies." Some of the Northern States passed what were known as "Personal Liberty Bills," practically nullifying the fugitive-slave law and punishing as kidnappers persons who sought to carry off alleged slaves without trial by jury. These personal liberty bills furnished a notable illustration of the powerlessness of theories of government, when human rights are involved. Hitherto the slave States had alone maintained extreme State rights doctrines, but now the free States practically asserted such doctrines in their legislation hostile to the Federal authority. The personal liberty bills set at naught the authority of the United States so far as it was sought to be exercised in the enforcement of the fugitive-slave law. They asserted the right of the State to protect the people within her borders from arrest and imprisonment without trial and from being carried off as slaves. They fell back upon the clause in the Constitution which says: "In any suits at common law, whereof the value of the controversy shall exceed \$20, the right of trial by jury shall be preserved." Fugitives were claimed to be property exceeding that value, and it was asserted that they could not be deprived of their liberty without a jury trial. Public agitation against the fugitive-slave law increased from year to year, and it finally became impracticable in most parts of the North, save in the great cities, to reclaim fugitives. Not only was this the case, but associations were formed in many parts of the North for the purpose of aiding slaves to escape to Canada. The lines over which the fugitives were forwarded by day and by night, by the anti-slavery people, were known as the "Underground Railroad." Many thousands of negroes escaped from the border States to Canada by the aid of this institution, and became industrious and valuable citizens of the British dominions.

CHAPTER VII.

CAMPAIGN OF 1852—DEFEAT OF THE WHIG PARTY.

THE Whig and Democratic Parties had been fully committed by the action of their representatives in Congress to the endorsement of the compromise measures of 1850, and it was evident before their national conventions met in 1852 that they would rival each other in professions of fidelity to those measures. Indeed, a public pledge had been signed by Henry Clay, Howell Cobb, and about fifty other members of Congress, of both parties, agreeing to abide by the compromise as a final adjustment of the controversy between the free and slave States. The Democratic Convention surprised the country by dropping General Cass, James Buchanan, and Stephen A. Douglas, who were the leading candidates for the nomination, and taking up Franklin Pierce of New Hampshire, a man almost unknown outside of his own State. On the 50th ballot Pierce was nominated. Wm. R. King of Alabama, was nominated for Vice-President on the second ballot. The convention declared that the compromise of 1850 was a finality and that the Democratic Party would resist all attempts at renewing the agitation of the slavery question. The Whig National Convention nominated General Winfield Scott for President. The other candidates were Millard Fillmore and Daniel Webster. Scott was nominated on the 52d ballot, and Wm. O. Graham of North Carolina was put on the ticket for Vice-President. The platform endorsed the compromise of 1850, including the fugitive-slave law, and declared that the system it established was essential to the nationality of the Whig Party and the integrity of the Union. The Whigs went into the canvass with a good deal of apparent vigor, but before the close it was evident that the poison of slavery had sapped the vitality of the party.

The Free Soilers met at Pittsburgh, in August, and nominated John P. Hale of New Hampshire, for President, and Geo. W. Julian of Indiana, for Vice-President. Their platform was opposition to the extension of slavery and their battle-cry was "Free soil, free speech, free labor, and free men." In some States the supporters of Hale and Julian took the name of Free Democrats, in others they called themselves, Free Soil Democrats, and in still others, simply Free Soilers. They did not

poll as large a vote as in 1848. Numbers of New York Democrats who then voted for Van Buren, returned to their old allegiance. They had, however, a pretty effective organization in all of the Northern States, sustained a number of influential newspapers, and placed in the field many able stump-speakers. Most of their vote was drawn from the Whigs. The result of the election was that the Democrats carried all the States in the Union except Massachusetts, Vermont, Kentucky, and Tennessee, choosing 254 electors. General Scott received only 42 electoral votes. The popular vote was, Pierce, 1,601,474; Scott, 1,386,578; Hale, 156,149. The disaster to the Whigs was so overwhelming that it killed their party. They kept up some form of an organization for four years more, but it was merely a shadow. The party had no longer an excuse for living. Its former principles of a protective tariff and a wise system of internal improvements had very little hold upon the public mind. The country was rapidly dividing on the slavery question, and as the Democratic party was generally recognized to be the principal ally of the slave power, there was no room for another organization not definitely opposed to that power. The dead party was sincerely mourned, particularly by a class of its adherents in the North, represented by Wm. H. Seward and Horace Greely, who had hoped to lead it over to anti-slavery ground. It was also regretted by a considerable element of educated and conservative people in the South, sincerely attached to the Union, and apprehensive of great dangers to the peace of the country from the extreme ground taken on the slavery question by the Democrats. The disappearance of the Whigs as an organization from the field of politics opened the way for the formation of the Republican Party; a new and formidable agency, which will be described in the next chapter, coming in to complete the work.

CHAPTER VIII.

RISE AND FALL OF THE KNOW-NOTHING OR AMERICAN PARTY.

BETWEEN the years 1853 and 1855 there suddenly arose a party of phenomenal growth and extraordinary ideas. It took for itself the name of the American Party, but its members were generally known by the popular slang term of "Know-Nothings," which they did not themselves object to. They were

organized into secret lodges, with pass-words and grips, and were sworn to vote for no one for a public office who was not a native. They proposed that citizenship should not be conferred, so far as the right of voting was concerned, until after twenty-one years' residence. They were peculiarly hostile to the Catholics, and claimed that the priests of that Church controlled the votes of their parishioners. The growth of this new organization was marvellous. It spread like wild-fire over the country and before it was two years old managed to carry many important local and State elections. It must not be supposed, however, that it was absolutely without roots in the past. Native Americanism, as a sentiment, had existed since about the year 1830, and had in several localities in the East assumed at different periods the form of political organizations. It rested on a not unreasonable apprehension of the growing power of the foreign element in the large cities of the country. This element, in great part ignorant of our system of government, frequently banded together to carry municipal elections, and placed objectionable persons in office. When the idea of nativism spread to the whole country and became the basis of a national party it was illogical and unpatriotic, because the growth of the United States had been largely the result of foreign immigration and a great part of its wealth had been produced by the labors of its foreign-born citizens. Many of these citizens were men of marked intellectual and moral worth, who had studied thoroughly the American system of free government, and had come to this country to escape the despotic limitations of life in the Old World. In seeking to exclude such men from voting and holding office in the land of their adoption the Know-Nothing movement was evidently unjust.

The rapid spread of the secret Know-Nothing lodges cannot be accounted for by the principles of ordinary political action. A study of the laws of mind which govern the propagation of intellectual delusions, and produce phenomenal movements in the world of religion as well as of politics, would be necessary for a philosophical treatment of the matter. Undoubtedly, the decay of the Whig party had much to do with the rise of this new movement. Men were suddenly cut adrift from their old party associations. In this situation they easily became a prey to a movement which had the fascination of secrecy and laid claims to lofty motives of patriotism. The Know-Nothing party culminated in 1855. It nominated Millard Fillmore for President in 1856, but it was already on the wane at that time,

and shortly afterwards the slavery question so completely absorbed the public mind that Know-Nothingism subsided as rapidly as it had risen, and in a single year disappeared from the field of politics. It played a part of some importance in the work of forming the Republican Party, by making a sort of bridge upon which many old Whigs crossed over to that organization.

CHAPTER IX.

THE ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETIES AND THEIR WORK.

BEFORE proceeding with the chronological order of our narrative, it is time that we should pause for a moment to consider the work of the anti-slavery societies in the North. Their members were few in number and were usually despised by the masses of the people as impractical theorists and negro-worshippers, who threatened the tranquility of the country and the permanence of the Union; but they were men of earnest convictions and lofty moral purpose, who, by their tireless exertions, gradually wore into the Northern mind a conception of the atrocity of slavery. These societies were strongest in New England, on the Western Reserve of Ohio, and in the Quaker communities of Pennsylvania, Ohio, and Indiana. They supported a number of eloquent public lecturers, who traversed the country and addressed meetings in school-houses, churches, and in the open air. Often these orators were received with opprobrium and insult; sometimes they were brutally treated by angry mobs; but they kept on heroically with their noble task. The condition of public sentiment in the North on the slavery question, prior to 1850, can scarcely be understood by the present generation. Even the church organizations were, as a rule, bitterly hostile to all forms of anti-slavery agitation. The Abolitionists, as the anti-slavery men were generally called, were looked upon as no better than criminals. A bigoted, unreasoning, and often brutal devoteeism to the slavery system had taken possession of the public mind, and whoever questioned the constitutionality or perpetuity of that system ran the risk of ostracism in his social and business relations, and if he publicly advocated his ideas, actually took his life in his own hands. This sentiment caused the anti-slavery men to draw closely together for mutual encouragement and assistance. They believed in the sacred humanity of their work. Their lecturers were entertained like

brethren at the homes of the members of the society wherever they went, and every anti-slavery man regarded every other anti-slavery man in the light of a near personal friend. In some parts of the country, they held annual conventions under tents or in groves. A number of newspapers advocated their ideas, chief among which was the *Liberator*, published in Boston by William Lloyd Garrison, who was generally recognized as the head of the movement. Horace Greeley, in his "American Conflict," divided the opponents of slavery in the period preceding the formation of the Republican Party into four classes:

1. The Garrisonians, who regarded the Federal Constitution as "a covenant with death and an agreement with hell." They pledged themselves to wage against slavery an unrelenting war, to regard and proclaim the equal and inalienable rights of every innocent human being as inferior or subordinate to no other, and to repudiate all creeds, rituals, constitutions, governments, and parties that rejected these fundamental truths. They generally declined to vote, believing the Government and all political parties so corrupted by slavery that no one could take any part in politics without moral defilement.

2. The members of the Liberty Party who, regarding the Federal Constitution as essentially anti-slavery, swore with good conscience to uphold it and to support only candidates who were distinctly, determinedly, and permanently champions of liberty for all.

3. Various small sects and parties which occupied a middle ground between the above positions, agreeing with the latter in interpreting and revering the Constitution as consistently anti-slavery, while refusing with the former to vote.

4. A large and steadily increasing class who, though decidedly anti-slavery, refused either to withhold their votes or to throw them away on candidates whose election was impossible, but persisted in voting at nearly every election so as to effect good and prevent evil to the extent of their power.

The influence of all the various forms of anti-slavery agitation in opening the way for the advent of the Republican Party, and laying the foundation for that great organization, can scarcely be overstated.

CHAPTER X.

THE KANSAS-NEBRASKA STRUGGLE.

THE result of the election of 1852 was to place the Democrats in complete control of the National Government. They had the President and a large majority in both houses of Congress. Their party was now completely dominated by the pro-slavery element. Franklin Pierce had been nominated by Southern votes and was wholly subservient to the slave power. In spite of the professions of the Democrats in their platform of 1852, in which they declared the compromise measures of 1850 to be a finality, settling forever the contest between the free and the slave States, Congress had scarcely met in 1853 before the South began to agitate for the repeal of the prohibition of slavery north of the line of 36 degrees 30 minutes. The vast plains lying beyond the States of Iowa and Missouri were known to be fertile and adapted for settlement. To remove the Indian tribes occupying them and make out of the region two new slave States, thus flanking the free States on the west and securing for slavery all of the vast region beyond the Missouri River, was the ambitious scheme of the Southern leaders. It mattered not that the faith of the South had been pledged, first by the compromise of 1820 and then by that of 1850, adopted as a final settlement of the slavery agitation. The pro-slavery leaders felt their power and determined to exercise it. After a tremendous struggle in both houses of Congress, they passed a bill repealing the prohibition of 1820, and opening all of the new Northwest to slavery. The extreme pro-slavery Democrats asserted that the Missouri Compromise was unconstitutional and that Congress had no power to prohibit slavery in the territory of the United States. They further asserted that the people of the new Territory had no power themselves, by their own territorial statutes, to interfere with the holding of slave property. A more moderate wing of the party, headed by Stephen A. Douglas, broached what was known as the popular sovereignty doctrine, which was that the people of the Territories should themselves decide whether they would have free or slave States, and that Congress had no authority to interfere with them. Abraham Lincoln once characterized this doctrine as, in effect, that one man had the right to enslave

another, but a third man had no right to interfere. Mr. Douglas's position prevailed, and the act organizing the Territories of Kansas and Nebraska, passed in 1854, permitted the introduction of slaves into those Territories and left the people free to regulate their domestic institutions in their own way.

The passage of this act created intense public excitement in the North. It was regarded as a breach of faith on the part of the South and as the forerunner of measures designed to extend slavery over the whole country. In every Northern State large numbers of men of influence broke loose from the old political organizations, and were styled "Anti-Nebraska Men." Public meetings were held denouncing the measure, and a great popular movement, hostile to the encroachment of slavery, arose spontaneously on a wave of excitement which swept over the entire North. The Territory of Nebraska was too far away from the slave States to be occupied to any great extent by emigrants from the South, but a fierce struggle took place for the possession of the Territory of Kansas. Armed men from Missouri moved over the border at once to occupy the region and keep out Northern immigrants. The Indian titles were quickly extinguished by the Democratic administration and the public lands thrown open for settlement. The first party of immigrants from the free States were visited by an armed mob and ordered to leave the Territory. The spirit of the North was fully aroused, however, and thousands of brave, intelligent men went to Kansas, determined to make it a free State. A contest ensued which lasted for several years, and was generally called at the time "the Border Ruffian War." Reckless and lawless men from the Missouri border harassed the Northern settlers. Many free State men were brutally murdered. The town of Lawrence was sacked and burned in part by an armed force of pro-slavery men. A regiment of wild young men from the South was recruited in Alabama by Colonel Buford, and invaded the Territory for the avowed purpose of subjugating the Northern settlers. The North supported her emigrants with fresh reinforcements and with consignments of rifles and ammunition. Numerous encounters occurred with more or less loss of life. At the village of Ossawatimie, a pitched battle was fought, wherein 28 Free State men led by John Brown defeated, on the open prairie, 56 Border Ruffians led by Captain Pate of Virginia.

In the struggle for Kansas, the South fought against the laws of nature. Very little of the territory was adapted for the

raising of cotton, and slavery had been found profitable only in the cotton regions. Few emigrants from the South went with their negroes to the new Territory, while resolute Northern farmers and mechanics poured in year after year in large numbers. The slave power then undertook to secure possession of Kansas by fraud. At the first election for a Territorial Legislature, thousands of Missourians crossed the Kansas border and voted. The Free State men disregarded this election, held another, and organized a legislature of their own, so that for a time there were two legislatures in session. In the same manner, two State Constitutions were formed, one at Lecompton, by a convention composed of members chosen in great part by fraudulent Missouri votes, and one at Lawrence, by a convention representing the anti-slavery settlers of the Territory. The administration at Washington endeavored to force the pro-slavery Constitution upon the people. Great efforts were made to this end through the agency of the Federal office-holders in the Territory, supported by detachments of Federal troops, and these efforts were abandoned only when it became evident that the Free State men were in an overwhelming majority and were determined to have their rights. The Kansas War finally degenerated into a series of plundering raids by parties of Missourians, but these in time became too hazardous to be continued. Some Democrats in Congress opposed the course of the administration toward Kansas and were called Anti-Lecompton Democrats, but the bulk of the party stood steadily on the side of the South. Kansas, with its free Constitution, was refused admission to the Union.

Every incident of the long struggle in Kansas was promptly reported in the Northern papers, and the anti-slavery element followed the conflict with intense interest, and looked upon the men who took their lives in their hands and went to the new Territory to secure it for freedom as heroes of a just and patriotic cause. It was the Kansas and Nebraska Bill and the struggle between freedom and slavery beyond the Missouri which finally crystallized the anti-slavery sentiment of the North into the organization known as the Republican Party.

CHAPTER XI.

THE OSTEND MANIFESTO, THE DRED SCOTT DECISION, AND THE
ATTACK ON CHARLES SUMNER.

THREE events occurring in the period we are now describing contributed powerfully towards increasing the alarm in the North at the purposes and spirit of the slave power. In August, 1854, Secretary of State William L. Marcy secretly directed James Buchanan, John Y. Mason, and Pierre Soule, our ministers at London, Paris, and Madrid, respectively, to meet in some European city and confer about the best method of getting possession of Cuba. The conference took place at Ostend, and resulted in a dispatch to our Government, known as the "Ostend Manifesto," which recommended the immediate purchase of Cuba, and threatened Spain with a forcible seizure of the island in case she should refuse to sell it. The purpose of the Cuban annexation scheme thus developed was to prevent the island from ever becoming a free republic like San Domingo, and to make out of it one or more slave States to re-enforce the slave power in Congress. Nothing came of the manifesto, save the resulting anger of European nations and the increased determination created in the North to oppose the schemes of the pro-slavery leaders.

The Supreme Court of the United States at this time was thoroughly in sympathy with the projects of the pro-slavery Democracy. The leaders of that party determined by a bold stroke to cut the Gordian knot of controversy as to the power of the Government over slavery in the Territories, and for this purpose they procured from the court what was known as the Dred Scott decision. Dred Scott was a negro belonging to an army officer who had taken him into a free State. This act entitled the slave to his liberty, and when he was afterward taken back to Missouri he sued for his freedom. The case was carried up to the Supreme Court, and a majority of the judges decided that persons of African blood were never thought of or spoken of except as property when the Constitution was formed, and were not referred to by the Declaration of Independence, which says that all men are created free and entitled to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. Such persons, the court declared, had no status as citizens, could not sue in any court, and were so far inferior that they had no rights that a white

Harper's Ferry, Virginia, on the 17th of October, with an armed force consisting of 17 white men and 5 negroes. The invaders tore up the railroad track, cut the telegraph wires, and took possession of the United States Armory; doing this by the authority of God Almighty, they said. Brown issued a proclamation calling upon the slaves of the South to rise and demand their liberty. The frightened inhabitants of the place appealed to the State authorities to come to their aid, and the State called upon the General Government. A force of United States marines was promptly despatched to Harper's Ferry, and a large body of Virginia militia was soon on the ground. Brown and his followers defended themselves in the armory building. A sharp conflict ensued. Hemmed in on all sides, Brown sent out a flag of truce, but the bearer, Stephens, was instantly shot down by the Virginians. One of Brown's men was captured by the Virginia militia, dragged out upon the railroad bridge, and shot in cold blood. Four of Brown's party attempted to escape by crossing the river, but three were mortally wounded. Brown made his last stand in an engine house, where he repulsed his assailants, who lost two killed and six wounded. The fight went on all day; at night Brown's forces were reduced to three unwounded whites besides himself. Eight of his men, including two of his sons, were already dead, another lay dying, and two were captives, mortally wounded. Next morning the marines charged the engine house, battered down the door, and captured Brown with his surviving followers. The purpose of the raid upon Harper's Ferry was to stimulate an insurrectionary movement throughout the South. Brown had drawn up a sketch for a provisional government, and had nominated several of his followers to the principal executive offices. He was held a prisoner for about six weeks, tried at Charlestown, Virginia, and hanged on the 2d day of December, exhibiting to the last a heroic fortitude and an exalted frame of mind which won for him the admiration of even his bitter enemies, the Virginians, and excited deep sympathy throughout the North. The South was profoundly stirred by this invasion, insignificant as it was in its dimensions and its results. The Southern people, in their excited frame of mind, undoubtedly believed that the John Brown raid had the endorsement of the Republican Party of the North, and was the beginning of an effort to destroy slavery by inciting the slaves to a general insurrection. The horrible history of the San Domingo massacre had always been a terror to the Southern people, and a rumor of a negro

rising had, on several occasions in the past, sufficed to throw them in a convulsive state of anger and apprehension. It was not strange, therefore, that an effort to organize an insurrection, led by courageous white men from the North, should provoke their fiercest animosity.

John Brown had few apologists though a great many sympathizers in the North. His movement was his own secret and was not abetted by any body of anti-slavery men. Just how great an influence it exercised on the subsequent history of the country it would, of course, be impossible to measure, but the feelings it produced and the memories it left in the South were a principal agency in inclining the Southern people to separate from the North and set up a Government of their own.

A book published about this time on the slavery question added to the irritation in the South. It was called "The Impending Crisis," and its author was Hinton R. Helper, a North Carolinian, who had migrated to California. The book was addressed to the slaveholding whites of the South, and was a powerful argument, re-enforced by statistics drawn from United States census reports, to prove that slavery cursed the industries of the Southern States. The poverty of those States in respect to accumulated wealth and agricultural products in comparison with the States of the North, was forcibly set forth and the non-slaveholding Southern whites were urged to throw off the control of the small minority of slaveholders and take the affairs of their States into their own hands. The circulation of this book was everywhere prohibited in the South. It was regarded as an incendiary document, although it contained nothing but calm reasoning and indisputable statistics. Several Republican members of the House signed a letter endorsing the volume, and their conduct was made the subject of an acrimonious discussion. At one time a resolution came near passing, affirming that no man who recommended the book was fit to be Speaker of the House. "The Impending Crisis" had an immense sale, and though its effect in the South was only to aggravate the pro-slavery feeling, it opened the eyes of many people in the North to the blighting effect of slavery upon industry, manufactures, and trade.

CHAPTER XIV.

THE CAMPAIGN OF 1860.

THE Republicans were not discouraged by their defeat in 1856. They saw that if they had carried the States of Pennsylvania and Indiana they would have succeeded, and felt that they had formed what was destined to be the great party of the future, and that their principles would prevail in time. The promulgation of the Dred Scott decision immediately after the inauguration of Mr. Buchanan gave new vigor to the Republican cause, showing as it did that the pro-slavery party intended to fully subjugate the whole country and make of it a vast slave empire. The conduct of Buchanan in continuing the efforts of Pierce to force slavery upon the Territory of Kansas kept alive the discussion of the question of the freedom of the Territories until the next Presidential election. Buchanan was as subservient to the South as Pierce had been. His administration was controlled by ultra pro-slavery men, who directed its energies to carrying out the schemes of the slave power.

In 1858, Abraham Lincoln and Stephen A. Douglas contested the State of Illinois for the United States Senatorship, and made a memorable canvass which attracted great attention throughout the country. Douglas advocated what was known as his squatter sovereignty policy, which was that Congress should abstain from all legislation as to slavery in the Territories and allow the people to settle the question for themselves. Mr. Lincoln advocated the right and duty of Congress to prohibit slavery in the Territories. Although Lincoln had a majority of the popular vote, Douglas had a majority in the Legislature and was elected. The South was not satisfied with the Douglas squatter sovereignty plan, the theory of the pro-slavery leaders being that slavery could not be prohibited in the Territories by any power whatever. This theory was repugnant to a great majority of the Democrats of the North, and the conflict between it and the Douglas theory led to a disruption of the Democratic party. The Democratic national convention met at Charleston, on the 23d of April, 1860, and immediately got into a heated controversy upon the subject of slavery. Finally, by a close vote, it was resolved that as differences had existed in the party as to the nature and extent of the powers of the Territorial Legislatures and as to the powers and duties of Congress under the

Constitution, over the institution of slavery within the Territories, the Democratic party would abide by the decision of the Supreme Court on the question of constitutional law. This exceedingly guarded and neutral declaration angered the Southern delegates, and most of them withdrew from the convention. An adjournment was carried until the 18th of June, when the convention reassembled in Baltimore. The seceding delegates met and adopted an extreme pro-slavery platform, and adjourned to assemble in Richmond June 11th. The regular convention reassembled in Baltimore and nominated Stephen A. Douglas, of Illinois, for President, and Benjamin Fitzpatrick, of Alabama, for Vice-President. Fitzpatrick subsequently declined, and Herschel V. Johnson, of Georgia, was substituted by the National Committee. The Baltimore Convention affirmed Douglas' squatter sovereignty theory. The Bolting Convention met in Richmond and adjourned to meet again in Baltimore, June 23d, when it adopted the Charleston platform and nominated John C. Breckinridge, of Kentucky, for President, and Joseph Lane, of Oregon, for Vice-President.

A new party, composed mainly of former members of the now dead American party in the South and a few stubborn old Whigs in the North, was formed at Baltimore May 9th. It took the name of the Constitutional Union party, and nominated for President John Bell, of Tennessee, and for Vice-President Edward Everett, of Massachusetts. This party declared that it recognized no political principles other than the Constitution of the country, the union of the States, and the enforcement of the laws. This last phrase was intended to refer to the Fugitive-Slave law. The Republican National Convention met in Chicago May 16th, 1860. It was generally supposed, prior to the meeting of the convention, that William H. Seward would be nominated for President. He was recognized as the chief leader of the new party, and its greatest teacher on the political bearings of slavery. His principal competitor was Abraham Lincoln, of Illinois. The other candidates were Simon Cameron, of Pennsylvania, Salmon P. Chase, of Ohio, Edward Bates, of Missouri, William L. Dayton, of New Jersey, John McLean, of Ohio, and Jacob Collamer, of Vermont. Mr. Seward led on the first and second ballot, but the argument that he would not be a popular candidate in the States of Pennsylvania, Indiana, and Illinois—the States lost by the Republicans in 1856—led to the nomination of Lincoln on the third ballot. Hannibal Hamlin, of Maine, was nominated for Vice-President. The

platform was substantially that adopted in 1856. Its chief planks were those referring to slavery in the Territories. It declared freedom to be the normal condition of the Territories, and denounced the new dogma that the Constitution, with its own force, carried slavery there.

In the campaign of 1860 the Republicans were united and confident, while the Democrats were divided into two factions, which fought each other about as vigorously as they did their common enemy. These factions were known by the name of their leaders, one being called Douglas Democrats, and the other Breckinridge Democrats. There were few Douglas men in the South and few Breckinridge men in the North. The strength of the new Constitutional Union party was almost wholly confined to the South. Every free State but New Jersey was carried by the Republicans, and in New Jersey the refusal of a part of the Douglas men to support the fusion ticket allowed four of the Lincoln electors to slip in. The electoral vote was divided as follows: Lincoln, 180, all from the North; Breckinridge, 72, all from the South; Bell, 39, from Virginia, Kentucky, and Tennessee; and Douglas, 12, from Missouri and New Jersey. The popular vote was, Lincoln, 1,857,610; Douglas, 1,291,574; Breckinridge, 850,082; Bell, 646,124.

The very large vote given to Mr. Douglas was due, in some part, to his personal popularity. He was the idol of the Democratic party of the North, and had the South chosen to give him its support, instead of seceding from the convention and nominating Breckinridge, he would probably have been elected President. With his comparatively moderate views on the subject of slavery, which were becoming more and more modified in the right direction as he saw the tendency of the pro-slavery leaders, it is not unlikely that he would have averted or at least postponed the war.

CHAPTER XV.

SECESSION—REBELLION—WAR.

As soon as the election of Lincoln and Hamlin was known to be beyond dispute, movements for seceding from the Union began in the South. The Southern leaders did not wait to learn what the policy of the new administration would be, but made haste to break the relations of their States with the Union

and to form a separate government, under the title of the Confederate States of America. As early as December, 1860, South Carolina seceded; other States followed during the winter, and in February, 1861, a complete Rebel government was organized at Montgomery and a Rebel army put into the field. A considerable party in the Southern States, composed mostly of old Whigs, opposed secession, but were overpowered by the more active, unscrupulous, and determined supporters of the movement. During the session of Congress just prior to Mr. Lincoln's inauguration great efforts were made in the way of conciliatory propositions to induce the Southern States not to renounce their allegiance to the Union. The Republicans were willing to go to the farthest extent possible not involving the vital principle of their party that the Territories of the United States were free soil by virtue of the Constitution. The plan known as the Crittenden Compromise received a large vote in both Houses, although opposed by most Republicans. Its principal provision was that all of the territory north of latitude 36 degrees and 30 minutes should forever be free, and that all of the territory south of that line should be given up to slavery. Senator Anthony, a Republican, was willing to admit New Mexico as a slave State, because slavery already existed there, but this was as far as he or any other Republican proposed to go concerning the disputed question of the condition of the Territories. A series of resolutions, accompanied by a constitutional amendment, passed both Houses, however, guaranteeing slavery in the States where it existed against any interference on the part of the Federal Government, and recommending the Northern States which had passed laws obstructing the recovery of fugitives to repeal them. A Peace Conference, invited by the Legislature of Virginia, sat in Washington in February. Thirteen Northern States and seven Southern States were represented. Its propositions had no effect in staying the rising tide of rebellion. The Southern leaders had fully made up their minds to dissolve the Union, and although many of them remained in Congress up to the time of Lincoln's inauguration, they did so avowedly for the purpose of resisting legislation which might be hostile to their section.

It is not the purpose of this work to trace the history of the war for the preservation of the Union further than is necessary to show the action of the political parties concerning its prosecution. The Republican party was the war party from the beginning to the end of the struggle, holding the Union to be

a perpetual bond, and not a league of States which could be dissolved at the pleasure of any of its members. It also held that the Republic was indestructible, and that the duty of the United States Government was to enforce obedience to its authority.

The Democratic party in the North was in an extremely awkward predicament when the storm of war burst upon the country. For a whole generation it had maintained the theory of the Virginia and Kentucky resolutions, that the States were sovereign and were themselves the judges of the constitutionality of the Federal laws and acts. Out of this theory grew logically another, that the Government had no right to coerce sovereign States. This was the theory upon which Mr. Buchanan's administration proceeded during the three months in which the Rebellion organized itself throughout the South. It continued to be held by a considerable portion of the Northern Democracy, but the patriotic feeling which followed the attack upon Fort Sumter caused it to be exceedingly unpopular for a while, and it was rarely avowed in public during the first year of the war. For a time there was but one political party in the North, and that was the party of the Union. As the war went on, however, and it became evident that it was going to be a long struggle and no holiday parade, as many had imagined, the Democrats took courage and reorganized their party as an anti-administration party. They did not avowedly oppose the prosecution of the war at that time; some of them, indeed, insisted that if they were in power they would push it more vigorously, but the spirit of their movement was one of dissatisfaction with the contest. In 1862, after the disaster to our armies on the Peninsula and at the second battle of Bull Run, a feeling of discontent arose throughout the North which took the form of hostility to the Republican party in the fall elections of that year. The Democrats carried the great central belt of States beginning with New York and ending at the Mississippi River. Fortunately, in only one State was there a Governor to be elected. This was in the State of New York, where the Democrats chose Horatio Seymour, by the aid of enormous election frauds committed in the City of New York. The Republicans were barely able to secure a majority in the new House, and were for a time greatly discouraged by their reverses and apprehensive that the Democratic triumphs might lead to the ultimate success of the Rebellion. In 1863, however, the capture of Vicksburg by General Grant

and the decisive victory at Gettysburg completely turned the current of public sentiment. The Republicans recovered that year every State they had lost in 1862. Wherever the contest was the hottest there their victory was the greatest. The great political battle of the year occurred in Ohio, where the Democrats nominated Clement L. Vallandigham for Governor. He was an avowed opponent of the war and an open sympathizer with the South. The majority against him was the largest ever given at any election in the State, running up to nearly 100,000.

In 1863, the Democratic party in most of the Northern States threw off all pretension of sympathy with the Union cause. On this account they were given by the Republicans the name of "copperheads." In some parts of the West they wore pins made of the butternut, to typify their sympathy with the South, the Southern soldiers being frequently clad in homespun dyed with the juice of that nut.

A long and bloody riot occurred in the City of New York in 1863, in which thousands of Democrats resisted the draft and held possession of many parts of the city for several days, murdering a number of people. The Democratic Governor of the State, Horatio Seymour, addressed the mob in front of City Hall, at the height of the riot, and styled the lawless persons composing it "my friends." The riot was finally suppressed by United State troops, after considerable slaughter. In the State of Indiana a formidable conspiracy under the title of the "Sons of Liberty," was organized by the Democratic sympathizers with the South, but was suppressed by the vigilance and courage of Oliver P. Morton, the Republican Governor of the State.

In several of the States the Republicans in 1863 dropped their party name and took that of the Union party, in order to save the feelings of the war Democrats who desired to co-operate with them. The voting force of these war Democrats was comparatively small, but among them were a number of men of undoubted patriotism and high position in the country. Most of them continued to co-operate with the Republican party during and after the war.

CHAPTER XVI.

THE EMANCIPATION OF THE SLAVES.

THE Republican party did not enter the war with the purpose of abolishing slavery. A few far-sighted men saw that the struggle must end either in the separation of the South or the freedom of the slaves, but the masses of the party did not look beyond the suppression of the Rebellion and the preservation of the Union. President Lincoln said that if he could save the Union with slavery he would save it, and that if he could save it without slavery he would save it. As the war went on, the folly of recognizing and protecting an institution which gave the rebels a large force of laboring men to stay at home and raise food for their armies became plainly apparent, and there was a general demand for the abolition of slavery as a war measure. It was not, however, till April, 1862, that slavery was abolished in the District of Columbia, nor till June, 1864, that the Fugitive Slave laws were repealed. In the early military operations against the Rebellion great care was taken not to excite insurrections among the slaves, and the negroes who came into our lines were treated as contraband property, so as not to be restored to their masters. On September 22d, 1862, President Lincoln issued his first proclamation of emancipation, which was, in effect, a threat to the States then in rebellion that they would lose their slaves unless they returned to the Union. He declared that on January 1st following all persons held as slaves in any State which should be then in rebellion should be then and forever after free. On January 1st, 1863, no rebel State having returned to the Union, he issued his second proclamation, designating the States and parts of States in rebellion, and ordering and declaring that all persons held as slaves in such regions "are and shall be free," and pledging the Government to maintain their freedom. "On this measure," said Lincoln, "I invoke the considerate judgment of mankind and the gracious favor of God." This celebrated proclamation professed to be a war measure, adopted by authority of the President as the commander-in-chief of the army and navy.

The Thirteenth Amendment of the Constitution prohibiting slavery in the United States passed the Senate in April, 1864, and the House in January, 1865, but was not ratified by a sufficient number of States to make it valid until nearly a year

after the end of the war. It was essentially a Republican measure, all of the Republicans in Congress voting for it, and nearly all of the Democrats voting against it. It will stand for all time as the noblest of the many monuments which mark the brilliant history of the Republican party. Public sentiment was slow to take shape in favor of the total abolition of the curse of slavery, but its progress was certain, and when the amendment was ratified it was approved by the entire Republican party. For some time afterward the Democratic party continued to denounce the Thirteenth Amendment, declaring it void and of no effect, but long ago even the most bigoted and stubborn Democrats came to acquiesce not only to its validity but in its justice and wisdom.

CHAPTER XVII.

THE PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN OF 1864.

ANXIOUS to secure the co-operation of all men who favored the prosecution of the war, the Republicans, in 1864, called a Union National Convention to meet in Baltimore. The convention renominated Abraham Lincoln for President, and nominated Andrew Johnson, of Tennessee, for Vice-President. The nomination of Lincoln was by acclamation, but there were a number of candidates for the Vice-Presidency, prominent among whom were Hannibal Hamlin and Daniel S. Dickinson. Prior to the Baltimore Convention a small number of Republicans, dissatisfied with the administration, and especially with its leniency toward rebels, met at Cleveland and nominated John C. Fremont for President, and John Cochrane for Vice-President. Their convention demanded the suppression of the rebellion without compromise, and the confiscation of the lands of the rebels, and their distribution among soldiers and actual settlers. General Fremont accepted the nomination but repudiated the confiscation plank of the platform. Subsequently both the candidates withdrew from the field, and the whole movement collapsed. The Democrats held their convention in Chicago, and manifested open hostility to the continuance of the war. Bitter speeches were made, denouncing the administration. A platform was adopted declaring the war a failure, and attacking those who carried it on for disregarding the Constitution, treading upon public liberty, perverting right, and impairing

justice, humanity, and material prosperity. The convention nominated for President General George B. McClellan, whose half-hearted, dilatory course while in command of the army of the Potomac was largely responsible for whatever failure had characterized the war up to that time. George H. Pendleton, of Ohio, was nominated for Vice-President. The platform crippled the Democratic party in the canvass, for scarcely had it been published when news came that Sherman had taken Atlanta, and that Farragut had carried the defences of Mobile. In the face of such victories as these the declaration that the war was a failure sounded absurd and treasonable.

In the canvass of 1864 the Democrats attacked the administration for exceeding its constitutional powers in suspending the habeas corpus and imprisoning rebel sympathizers and agents in the North without trial. They did not openly avow their old theory, that the States could not be coerced; but they had a great deal to say about the "bloody and endless war, brought on by the anti-slavery agitators in the North." They denounced the emancipation proclamation and appealed to the prejudice against the negroes, still very strong in the North, by asserting that the war was an abolition war, carried on not to restore the Union but to free the slaves. The Republicans had practically but one argument to make, and that was, that it was the duty of every patriot to sustain the Government in its efforts to crush the Rebellion and save the Union. The result of the election was the success of the Republicans by very large majorities. Mr. Lincoln had the electoral vote of every State not in the rebellion, except Kentucky, Delaware, and New Jersey. He received 212 electoral votes against 21 cast for McClellan. His popular vote was 2,213,665 against 1,802,237. The success of the Republicans in this critical campaign assured the ultimate triumph of the Union arms in the field, confirmed the emancipation of the slaves, and opened the way to the termination of the war. Had the Democrats prevailed, there is little reason to doubt that the war would have ended by a recognition of the independence of the rebel States.

CHAPTER XVIII.

SECURING THE FRUITS OF THE WAR—THE STRUGGLE WITH ANDREW JOHNSON.

AFTER the Republican party had carried the war through to a successful issue, destroying upon the battle-field the doctrine

of secession, and forcing the surrender of the rebel armies, it was called upon to meet a new and very grave issue, involving the security of the results of its past efforts.

Lincoln was assassinated on April 21st, 1865, very soon after his second inauguration, by J. Wilkes Booth, an actor, who was inspired to commit the crime by his sympathy with the cause of the rebellion, which had come to utter ruin only a few days before by the surrender of the army of General Lee. The Vice-President, Andrew Johnson, became President. At first he was so radical and violent in his treatment of the conquered rebels that it was feared that he intended to depart wholly from the policy of kindly firmness followed by Mr. Lincoln. Before many months, however, he changed his attitude completely, and undertook to defeat the will of his party in Congress in respect to the reorganization of the rebel States. He had been bitterly opposed to the dominant element of the South all his life—coming of ignorant, poor white stock, and representing in his early career the antagonism of the non-slaveholding element in Tennessee towards the slaveholders; but all at once, when in possession of the reins of government, he manifested a stubborn purpose to carry out the wishes of the leading Southern men and to give them control of their local affairs.

The problem of restoring the Southern States to their relations to the Union was a difficult one, and the Republicans were not at first wholly agreed as to its proper solution. After nearly two years of consideration of the question, the party, however, came with substantial unanimity to the ground that the rebel States had forfeited their rights as States of the Union by the act of rebellion, and had become unorganized communities, held under the Constitution by conquest, and to be dealt with as Congress might see fit. Their re-entry into the Union must, it was maintained, be under such conditions as Congress should prescribe. In the mean time they were kept under military government, and were divided, for the purpose, into military districts. The Democrats held that so soon as hostilities ceased each rebel State had a right to reorganize its own State Government, and to enter into all of the privileges of a member of the national Union, without any interference or dictation on the part of Congress. This was the theory advocated by Andrew Johnson. Its purpose was to reinstate the white men of the South in full control of their local governments, leaving them to deal with the emancipated negro populations as they saw fit, under the solitary restraint of the Thirteenth Amendment.

After having emancipated the slaves, the Democrats held that Congress had nothing more to do with them. The temporary governments organized by the whites in several of the Southern States proceeded to pass codes of black laws, which reduced the negroes to a condition of serfdom, differing practically but very little from the old condition of slavery. President Johnson did not avowedly go over to the Democratic party: he kept Mr. Seward and several other Republicans in his Cabinet, but his policy toward the South was essentially a Democratic policy, and was sustained by very few people in Congress or the country except the Democrats. A small body of office-holders stood by him in order to retain their places, and became popularly known as "the bread and butter brigade." In 1867, the Republicans passed a series of acts, known as the Reconstruction laws, providing for the establishment of new State governments in the South. These laws allowed every man to vote, black or white, except such as had previously taken an oath to support the Constitution of the United States and had participated in the Rebellion. This limitation disfranchised a very large portion of the active and influential white men. President Johnson vetoed the Reconstruction acts, and they were passed over his veto, the Republicans having at that time and throughout his administration a two-thirds majority in both Houses.

The conduct of Johnson created a good deal of irritation and bad feeling. He was regarded as a traitor to the Republican party and the stubbornness with which he clung to his idea of the rights of the Southern States under the Constitution was generally believed among the Republicans to arise from a settled purpose on his part to betray his party and to destroy the substantial results of its victory over the Rebellion. The intense dislike and strong suspicion of Johnson which animated the greater portion of the Republican party resulted in the passage of articles of impeachment against him, on the 22d of February, 1868. The specifications were based on the President's illegal removal of Edwin M. Stanton from the office of the Secretary of War, his expressions in party speeches of contempt of Congress, and his hindrance of the execution of some of its acts. The trial began in the Senate March 23d, and lasted nearly two months, attracting the closest attention of the whole country. Johnson was acquitted for lack of a two-thirds majority against him, the vote on the several articles of impeachment standing, guilty 35, not guilty 19. A few Republicans, led by Mr. Fessenden, of Maine, not believing him guilty of an offence war-

ranting his removal from office, voted with the Democrats for his acquittal. The general effect of his obstinate resistance to Congress was to strengthen the Republican party, and the men that deserted its ranks to follow him were so few in number that they were scarcely missed. At one time Johnson appeared to contemplate the formation of a new party, of which he was to be the leader; but he ended, after his term of office closed, in joining the Democratic party, which sent him to the Senate from Tennessee.

The Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution was adopted in June, 1866, by Republican votes exclusively, in both Houses of Congress. The amendment made the freed negroes citizens of the United States and of the States in which they lived, and prohibited any State from abridging or limiting the privileges or immunities of citizens. It left each State to regulate the right of voting, but if a State excluded any of its citizens on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude, it lost its representative and electoral strength proportionately. The amendment also provided that no person should hold office in the United States or any State who, not having taken the oath to support the Constitution of the United States, and had joined in the Rebellion; but Congress might remove this disability by a vote of two-thirds of each branch. It provided, further, that neither the United States nor any State should assume or pay any debt contracted in aid of the Rebellion, or for any of the losses from the emancipation of the slaves. The Democratic party vehemently opposed this amendment, and it was not fully ratified by the requisite number of States until July, 1868. Long after its ratification the Democrats were in the habit of condemning it as revolutionary, unconstitutional, null and void. Subsequent experience did not justify all of its provisions. The section creating a class of persons under disabilities in the South was after a time deemed unwise by a large majority of the Republicans, and was greatly modified by successive amnesty measures.

In 1866, the Civil Rights act was passed, providing severe penalties against any person who under color of any law or ordinance should attempt to deprive the freedmen of equal rights or subject them to any penalty or prohibition different from those to which the whites were subjected. This act as well as Amendment XIV was vetoed by President Johnson, opposed by the Democrats, and passed by the Republicans over that veto and in spite of that opposition.

CHAPTER XIX.

THE CAMPAIGN OF 1868.

THE Presidential campaign of 1868 was fought upon the issues growing out of the Reconstruction acts of Congress, the Amendments to the Constitution, and the suffrage and citizenship they conferred upon the colored race. The Republican National Convention met in Chicago, May 20th, and nominated General Ulysses S. Grant for President, by acclamation. A sharp contest took place over the Vice-Presidency. The first ballot resulted as follows: Schuyler Colfax, of Indiana, 115; Benjamin F. Wade, of Ohio, 147; Reuben E. Fenton, of New York, 126; Henry Wilson, of Massachusetts, 119; Andrew G. Curtin, of Pennsylvania, 51; Hannibal Hamlin, of Maine, 28; James M. Speed, of Kentucky, 22; James Harlan, of Iowa, 16; J. A. J. Creswell, of Maryland, 14; W. D. Kelley, of Pennsylvania, 4; S. C. Pomeroy, of Kansas, 6. On the fifth ballot Schuyler Colfax was nominated, receiving 541 votes. The chief features of the platform were the indorsements of the constitutional amendments securing the political and civil equality of the blacks and of the reconstruction acts of Congress.

The Democratic National Convention met in New York, July 4th, and nominated Horatio Seymour, of New York, for President, and Francis P. Blair, of Missouri, for Vice-President. An attempt was made to liberalize the party and induce it to cease its opposition to the results of the war, by the nomination of Salmon P. Chase, of Ohio, who stood a little aloof from the Republican party and held rather a neutral attitude. It was unsuccessful. Moderate ideas prevailed, however, in the platform, which was cautiously worded so as not to offend a considerable number of Democrats who were in favor of what was called "accepting the situation." Among the candidates for the Presidency before the convention was General W. S. Hancock, who received a large vote from men who desired to make use of his military reputation as an offset to that of General Grant. The majority of the convention were not willing, however, to nominate any man whose record of hostility to all of the Republican measures during the last ten years was in any way doubtful. The Democratic campaign was so bad a failure that before it closed the leading Demo-

cratic newspaper organ in New York demanded a change in the ticket as the only way of securing the possibility of success. General Grant was elected by a popular vote of 3,012,833 against 2,703,249. He carried all the States except Delaware, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Maryland, New Jersey, New York, and Oregon. Three States—Virginia, Mississippi, and Texas—had not gone through with the process of reconstruction and therefore had no vote. Of the electoral votes Grant received 214, and Seymour 80. After this overwhelming defeat a growing sentiment in favor of accepting the results of the war and ceasing the hopeless contest against the inevitable took possession of the Democratic party. The election was exceedingly important in its influence upon the history of the country. Had the Republicans been defeated the whole policy of equal suffrage and citizenship would probably have been overturned. That policy was completed and firmly secured a year later by the Fifteenth Amendment to the Constitution, which provided that neither the United States nor any State should abridge the right of any citizen to vote on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude. The ratification of this amendment by the requisite number of States was proclaimed March 20th, 1870.

CHAPTER XX.

CONDITION OF THE SOUTH—CARPET-BAG-GOVERNMENT—THE KU-KLUX KLAN CONSPIRACY.

ENCOURAGED by President Johnson's opposition to the Reconstruction acts to believe that those acts would in the end be set aside, the white people of the States which had joined the Rebellion very generally refrained from taking part in the elections under them, and thus the newly enfranchised negroes became suddenly possessed of almost unlimited political power. With them acted a few respectable white natives who had conscientiously opposed the war, a few enterprising Northern emigrants who went South to invest their means and better their fortunes, and a few adventurers attracted by the prospect of office. This was a poor foundation on which to rear a stable structure of local government. The mass of the white population looked upon the negroes as they would upon so many cattle or horses of which they had been robbed by the National Government, and regarded them in their quality of voters and citizens

with undisguised hatred and contempt. The State Governments established under the new order of things were the subjects of constant insult in the Southern papers, and were despised and detested by the great mass of the native tax-paying people. The poor whites were fully as hostile as the better classes. To some extent the new governments merited the condemnation they received. Most of them were ignorant and rapacious, borrowing and wasting large sums of money, raising heavy taxes, and creating numberless scandals. It made no difference, however, what was the character of the men connected with these governments—they were all denounced as thieves. Northern white men who had settled in the South, whether they held office or not, were stigmatized as “carpet-baggers,” and every native white man who joined the Republican party was denounced as a “scallawag,” and cut off from all social relations with his neighbors. The carpet-bag governments, as they were called, could not have existed for a moment without the support of the national authority. Troops were stationed in every capital and principal city throughout the South, for the purpose of awing the disaffected people and compelling obedience to the local authorities. Even these means were not wholly effective, however. A secret organization sprang up as if by magic in all parts of the South, whose members were exclusively white men, hostile to the new order of things, and sworn to accomplish the destruction of negro rule. This organization was called the Ku-Klux Klan. Its ostensible purpose at first was to keep the blacks in order and prevent them from committing small depredations upon the property of the whites, but its real motives were essentially political. The members met in secret conclaves, and rode about the country at night wearing long gowns of black or scarlet cloth, with hideous masks or hoods enveloping their heads. They murdered many of the negro leaders, and in pursuance of their scheme for overawing the colored population took thousands of poor blacks out of their cabins at night and brutally flogged them. In some neighborhoods scarcely a colored man escaped a visitation from these terrible midnight riders. The negroes were invariably required to promise not to vote the Republican ticket, and threatened with death if they broke their promises. In some places the Ku-Klux Klan assaulted Republican officials in their houses or offices or upon the public roads; in others they attacked the meetings of negroes and dispersed them. Their action took almost every form of lawlessness, and was adopted

with the single purpose of breaking down the authority of the Republican State and local governments, and preparing the way for a Democratic victory at the elections. The Ku-Klux Klan order and its variations extended throughout the entire South. In some localities it was called by other names, such as the "White League," or the "Knights of the White Camelia," and sometimes its members appeared without disguise and made their murderous attacks upon their political opponents in broad daylight. In such cases it was given out by the Southern newspapers that a riot had occurred, in which the blacks were the aggressors. Wherever the facts were obtained by the investigations of committees of Congress, it was found that this explanation was a false one, and that the whites were always the attacking party.

The Ku-Klux Klan were particularly active in the Northern counties of South Carolina, and these counties were selected by President Grant for the enforcement of an act of Congress, passed by the Republicans for the purpose of suppressing these treasonable and murderous organizations. The habeas corpus was suspended by Executive order in the five counties referred to, a considerable body of troops was stationed there, and large numbers of arrests were made by the soldiers. Nearly three hundred Ku-Klux were imprisoned at one time at Yorkville, South Carolina, under military guard. Their disguises and other articles were captured, and several of them made full confession of the atrocities in which they had been engaged. A few were selected for trial and were convicted and sentenced to imprisonment in the Albany Penitentiary. The rest were released on their pledges of good behavior. The result of these severe measures was to break up the Ku-Klux organizations throughout the South. Hostility to negro suffrage and Republican government subsequently took other forms of violence, but the whipping and killing of defenceless people by masked midnight riders was abandoned.

The Republicans of the North earnestly sustained the measures of the Government for the punishment of conspiracy and of crime, and for the defense of the rights of their brethren in the South. The inefficiency and corruption which characterized most of the Southern State governments produced, however, considerable effect upon the Northern mind, and in course of time a large portion of the Northern Republicans grew weary of the effort to support those governments by armed force. Thus there came about a division in the party, one element

believing it to be the duty of the administration to continue its policy of interference in Southern affairs, and the other contending that the difficult problem of good government and equal rights in that section could be best worked out by the Southern people themselves, without any outside pressure. The stories of Southern outrages grew monotonous and wearisome. Many people doubted their authenticity, because from their own experience in the law-abiding communities of the North they could not conceive of a state of things so wholly foreign to anything they had observed at home. It did not seem reasonable that men should be guilty of such barbarous acts as were done in the South for the purpose of gaining political power. All reference to those acts and arguments drawn from them were characterized, in the political parlance of the time, as "waving the bloody shirt," and lost their effect upon the public mind. Nevertheless only a small part of the truth concerning the state of affairs in the South between 1867 and 1876 was ever made known. It is not extravagant to assert that more men lost their lives during that period for the sole crime of being Republicans than fell on any one battle-field of the war.

In the course of eight years of President Grant's administration the white Democrats of the South succeeded in getting possession of all of their States except South Carolina, Florida, and Louisiana—overcoming the Republican majorities by a system of intimidation, violence, and fraud. The three remaining States passed into their hands immediately after the accession of President Hayes. President Grant's policy toward the South was not uniform and consistent. At times he was exceedingly firm in his defense of the so-called carpet-bag governments, but at other times he was yielding or indifferent, and allowed the processes for the destruction of those governments to go on without interference. Toward the close of his official career he came to the conclusion that it was unwise longer to attempt to support by Federal bayonets authority which was obnoxious to the influential and intelligent tax-paying classes of the South. In this conclusion a large portion of the Republicans sympathized, but their opinion did not in the least modify their feelings of condemnation of the methods by which the Southern Democrats had overturned the Republican State governments in that section.

CHAPTER XXI.

DEFENDING THE NATIONAL HONOR AND THE PUBLIC CREDIT.

It is now time to refer to a portion of the career of the Republican party which reflected great honor upon it, and entitled it anew to the respect and gratitude of the country. At the end of the war the United States owed an enormous bonded debt. In addition it had outstanding a large volume of paper currency, issued with the understanding that it should be redeemed in coin as soon as the Government was able to do so. In 1867, after the floating obligations remaining from the war had been gathered in and funded, the question of how to deal with the debt and the currency was taken up in earnest by the Republicans in Congress. Their plans met with vehement opposition from a large portion of the Democratic party. A new and preposterous theory was advanced, to the effect that the notes of the Government, called greenbacks, were actual money instead of promises to pay money, and that the bonded debt of the United States could be lawfully and honorably discharged with these notes. This theory started in the West and was called at first "Pendletonism," from the fact that Pendleton, the Democratic candidate for Vice-President in 1864, was among its early and prominent advocates. It was claimed by the supporters of this theory that as greenbacks were real money the country ought to have a large supply of them. They favored an immediate issue of hundreds and even thousands of millions of dollars. All of the bonds that were not specifically made payable in coin they proposed to pay off at once in greenbacks, and thus stop the interest upon them. The paper money idea soon developed into a great popular mania in the West. Many Republicans were carried away by it, but the majority of the party firmly resisted it. Not much headway was made by this dangerous and dishonest heresy east of the Alleghany Mountains, but beyond that line, clear through to the far West, the excitement raged for several years. It must be said, in credit of the Democrats of the East, that they gave no assistance to the greenback idea. As a party, however, the Democrats may truthfully be said to have advocated it, since the great bulk of the Democratic representation in Congress came from the West and the South, where the mania was widely prevalent. However much praise the few Democrats who opposed the

scheme are entitled to, it is certain that it could not have been defeated had not the Republican party as a national organization set its face firmly against it.

Many of the advocates of inflation, having cut loose from the principles of common honesty, soon became repudiationists, and formed a party by themselves, called the Greenback party. They proposed to pay off the whole of the debt in greenbacks, and never redeem the greenbacks, but let them wear out and perish. They even went so far as to pass resolutions in their conventions declaring that all taxation should cease and that the Government should support itself by issuing paper money. A constant struggle against inflation schemes was kept up by the Republicans in Congress for more than a decade, and was only ended by the successful resumption of specie payments on the first of January, 1879. In all of this time the Republican party was vigilant and firm in defending the national honor, and preventing its credit from suffering by the repeated assaults upon it which came from the Democratic and Greenback parties. The party which saved the Union and abolished slavery was called upon to save the credit and honor of the country, and prevent its currency from becoming worthless, and it nobly responded to the call.

CHAPTER XXII.

THE LIBERAL DEFECTION AND THE CAMPAIGN OF 1872.

CONSIDERABLE dissatisfaction was felt in the Republican party at the course of President Grant's administration. A small element of conscientious men, many of whom had aided in forming the party, believed that his policy toward the South was unwise, and that it was time to inaugurate an era of peace, reconciliation and good feeling. They also wanted to see a policy of civil service reform established, by which merit should be the test for public office, and Government officials should stick to their legitimate business, and not devote their time to managing caucuses and conventions in the interest of party leaders who had secured them their appointments.

Grant's project for annexing San Domingo created a good deal of opposition, and many of his appointments to office were of a character not to commend themselves to the public judgment. An open breach occurred between him and several Republican leaders in Congress, chief among whom were Senators

Sumner, Schurz, and Trumbull. Long and acrimonious debates over the San Domingo matter and a sale of arms to the French Government served to widen the breach. The opponents of General Grant believed that his control over all of the Federal office-holders was so great, and their control over the machinery of the conventions so perfect, that his renomination would be brought about in spite of any amount of antagonistic feeling that might exist in the party, so they determined to make a demonstration which would show to the country that they would not in any event support Grant for a second term. They took the name of "Liberal Republicans," and held a National Convention in Cincinnati, in May, 1872. Once assembled they were surprised at their own apparent strength and at the number of old-time Republicans who came to co-operate with them. The plan of the leaders of the movement was to nominate Charles Francis Adams for President. Some of them believed that so excellent and fit a nomination would so commend itself to the whole Republican party that General Grant would be dropped. Adams failed of a majority on the first ballot, and the convention was stampeded by a movement in behalf of Horace Greeley, who received the nomination on the sixth ballot, having 482 votes to 187 for David Davis, of Illinois. Governor B. Gratz Brown, of Missouri, was named for Vice-President on the second ballot. The regular Republicans paid no attention to these nominations. They stigmatized the movement as one of soreheads and bolters, and in their own convention, held in Philadelphia in June, nominated President Grant for re-election by acclamation. A brisk contest over the Vice-Presidency occurred between Schuyler Colfax, the incumbent of the office, and Henry Wilson, a Senator from Massachusetts, in which Wilson was successful, receiving $364\frac{1}{2}$ votes to $321\frac{1}{2}$ for Colfax. The platform of the Liberal Republicans demanded that sectional issues should be buried, that goodwill should be cultivated between sections, that the constitutional amendments in all the settlements of the war should be regarded as finalities, that civil service reform should be undertaken, and that specie payments should be immediately restored. The platform of the regular Republicans rehearsed the glorious history of the Republican party and reaffirmed its well-known distinctive principles of equal political and civil rights and a firm maintenance of the national credit and honor.

The Democrats found themselves in a painful dilemma. If

they nominated a ticket of their own there was not the slightest chance of electing it. If they indorsed the Liberal Republican ticket they would have to abandon all of the ideas for which they had been contending since 1860. Their convention met at Baltimore in July and chose the latter horn of the dilemma. In spite of the bald inconsistency of the proceeding, the party which had defended slavery and opposed the suppression of the Rebellion nominated as its candidate for President a most conspicuous antagonist of slavery, a life-long opponent of the South, and a zealous advocate of all measures which had been adopted for crushing the Rebellion and giving freedom and citizenship to the blacks. This apparent conversion of a great party and this acknowledgment of the error of its ways would have been sublime if it had been sincere, but the object of most of the Democratic leaders was only to obtain office and political patronage. Horace Greeley made no pledges to them, and he avowed not the slightest alteration in his opinions on the issues of the time. They hoped, however, that if they succeeded in electing him a sense of gratitude would induce him to give them place and power. The campaign was a very animated one at first, but after the Republicans had carried North Carolina in August and Pennsylvania in October it became evident that the Greeley coalition could not win, and thenceforward the Democratic and Liberal canvass lost all vitality. A large number of the Republicans left their party to follow their old anti-slavery leader, Horace Greeley, but their votes were more than counterbalanced by those of Democrats who refused to support him. This class had a candidate of their own in Charles O'Connor, who was nominated by a convention held at Louisville. He received but a small vote, however. Most anti-Greeley Democrats contented themselves with staying at home on election day. Some of them voted for Grant, to show in a marked manner their hostility to the course of their party. Grant carried all the States except Georgia, Kentucky, Maryland, Missouri, Tennessee, and Texas. His popular vote was 3,597,070. The vote for Greeley was 2,834,079. O'Connor received 29,408 votes, and Black, the candidate of the Prohibition Temperance men, 5,608. Horace Greeley died before the electoral colleges met. The electoral vote as cast by the colleges was as follows: Grant, 286; Hendricks, 42; Brown, 18; C. J. Jenkins, 2; David Davis, 1; uncounted because cast for Horace Greeley, 17.

The Liberal defection seriously weakened the Republican

party in the State campaigns of the three following years, but in 1876 the breach was fully healed, and with the exception of a few leaders who joined the Democrats the whole body of Liberals returned to their old party allegiance in the Presidential campaign of that year.

CHAPTER XXIII.

PRESIDENT GRANT'S SECOND ADMINISTRATION—CAMPAIGN OF 1876.

REPUBLICAN divisions continued to a considerable extent during the second administration of President Grant. The dissatisfied members of the party did not, however, form any political organization, but contented themselves with holding themselves aloof from the State campaigns. Several painful scandals affecting the appointees and personal friends of President Grant added to the unpopularity of the administration. In 1874, the feeling of distrust and dislike culminated and resulted in an astonishing series of Democratic victories at the State and Congressional elections. A large number of Northern States that had been steadfastly Republican were carried by the Democrats. Even Massachusetts, which had given heavy Republican majorities ever since the party was formed, elected a Democratic Governor. In short, there was a reaction against the Republicans throughout the country of such magnitude and importance that many would-be prophets predicted the speedy death of the party, asserting that its mission was fulfilled, its work done, and its career closed. The Democrats elected a majority of the members of the National House of Representatives, and thus in the following year came into possession of one branch of Congress for the first time since 1860.

It was not long before the Republicans who had deserted their party and thus helped its enemy to a substantial victory began to realize that they had made a grave mistake. They saw that to trust the party of slavery and rebellion with the power in the National Government was to run the risk of seriously compromising the results of the war. The State elections of 1875 showed the result of this conviction, for most of the old Republican States which had been lost in 1874 were regained. An exceedingly thorough and brilliant canvass was made in Ohio upon the financial question. The Democrats of that State fully indorsed what was known as the soft-money idea. They opposed the act for the resumption of specie payments, passed by Congress in January of that year, demanded the issue of

more irredeemable greenbacks, and asserted that the interest on the public debt should be paid in paper money, and some of their orators and newspapers went so far as to demand the payment of the principal of the debt in the same kind of currency. The Democratic nominee for Governor was William Allen, popularly known as "old Bill Allen," who already held the place by virtue of the election of 1873. This venerable politician personified for a time the soft-money delusion, which got the name of "the Ohio idea," and was commonly ridiculed by its opponents as "the rag baby." The Republican candidate was Rutherford B. Hayes, who had been Governor for two terms, from 1868 to 1872. Taking ground in favor of honest money redeemable in coin and an honest payment of the national debt, the Republicans carried the State by a small majority and turned the tide of inflation. The campaign attracted national attention to Mr. Hayes, and made him the candidate of his State for the Presidential nomination in 1876.

The Republicans held their National Convention at Cincinnati on June 14th, 1876. James G. Blaine, of Maine, was the leading candidate, and his nomination was regarded as almost a certainty when the balloting began. The other prominent candidates were Oliver P. Morton, of Indiana; Roscoe Conkling, of New York; Benjamin F. Bristow, of Kentucky, and John F. Hartranft, of Pennsylvania. Bristow's power, came, as a rule, from the element most dissatisfied with President Grant's administration. He had been Secretary of the Treasury, and had differed with the President about the prosecution of certain persons in the West concerned in the frauds on the revenue. A personal quarrel arose, and Bristow resigned his place in the Cabinet. The supporters of Morton, Conkling, and Hartranft were, in the main, warm friends of the administration. Those of Mr. Blaine were drawn from both elements by his great personal popularity and his reputation as a Congressional leader. A combination between the forces of Morton, Conkling, Hartranft, and Hayes, and a portion of those of Bristow defeated Blaine and nominated Hayes on the seventh ballot, the vote standing, Hayes, 384; Blaine, 351; Bristow, 31. William A. Wheeler, and old and influential representative in Congress from the State of New York, was nominated for Vice-President with little opposition. Mr. Hayes' nomination proved to be a popular and fortunate one. He had an excellent military and civil record and no personal enemies, and he united all of the jarring elements of the Republican organization.

The Democratic Convention met in St. Louis on the 27th of June, and on the second ballot nominated Samuel J. Tilden, of New York, for President. His principal competitors were, Thos. H. Hendricks, of Indiana; Wm. Allen, of Ohio; and General Hancock, of the army. Tilden had just served a term as Governor of New York, and had won considerable reputation as a reformer by his hostility to the canal ring, and to the corrupt Tammany organization in the City of New York. The Democrats ran their canvass almost exclusively on what they called the reform line. They claimed that the Republican party had grown corrupt with long lease of power. They vigorously attacked the administration of President Grant, made the most of all the scandals, true or false, which had grown out of it, and presented their candidate as a man who would sweep the public service clean of all abuses as with a new broom.

The Republican canvass consisted mainly of an attack on the bad record of the Democratic party and a cry of alarm at the solidity of the section of the country late in rebellion. A good deal was made out of the enormous Southern claims presented in Congress for war damages, and an effective attack was kept up against Mr. Tilden on account of his failure to pay a large amount of money due from him to the Government as income tax, and also on account of his sharp financial operations in connection with certain Western railroads. Three insignificant minor organizations placed candidates in the field for the campaign of 1876. The Greenback party, an organization of fantastic theorists and small demagogues, took up the so-called Ohio idea, which the Democrats had refused to indorse in their St. Louis platform, and endeavored to build upon it a great political organization. They nominated for President the venerable New York philanthropist, Peter Cooper, and for Vice-President Samuel F. Cary, of Ohio, a popular orator who had belonged to nearly every political organization which had existed in his life-time. The Prohibitionists held a convention in Cleveland and nominated for President, Green Clay Smith, of Kentucky, and for Vice-President, Gideon T. Stewart, of Ohio, on a platform demanding a constitutional amendment prohibiting the liquor traffic. A mass meeting was held in Pittsburgh, which attempted to start a new organization called the American National Party. James B. Walker, of Illinois, was nominated for President, and Donald Kirkpatrick, of New York, for Vice-President. The platform favored the recognition of God and the Sabbath in the Constitution, demanded prohibitory

liquor laws, and denounced all secret societies. The movement proved abortive, and nothing was heard of it during the canvass.

The campaign of 1876 was exceedingly animated, and was closely contested in all parts of the Union except the Southern States, where the Democrats had already gained control. The popular vote was as follows: Tilden, 4,284,757; Hayes, 4,033,950; Cooper, 81,740; Smith, 9,522. The electoral vote, as finally decided by a commission created to settle the dispute about the returns, was, Hayes, 185; Tilden, 184.

CHAPTER XXIV.

THE CONTROVERSY ABOUT THE ELECTORAL COUNT.

BOTH parties claimed to have carried the Presidential election of 1876, and before the question was decided the country was brought uncomfortably near to the verge of civil war. The result turned upon the votes of South Carolina, Florida, and Louisiana, which were certified by the State authorities to have been cast for Hayes and Wheeler. In each of those States Democratic electors claimed to have been elected, and sent contesting returns to Washington. Great excitement prevailed throughout the country. Politicians of both parties hurried to the disputed States to witness the counts of the popular vote and supervise the action of the rival electoral colleges. In South Carolina, which the Republicans had previously carried by majorities averaging 30,000, the Democrats organized rifle clubs during the campaign to systematically intimidate colored voters. These rifle clubs moved about the country fully armed, and uniformed in red shirts, broke up Republican meetings, and spread terror among the black population. The whole State seemed like an armed camp. The effect produced by this military organization on the minds of the timid colored people was greatly increased by the Ellenton and Hamburg massacres, in which a large number of negroes were killed. An account of these occurrences would be foreign to the purpose of this work. It is enough to say that the white Democrats were the aggressors and the colored Republicans the victims, and that the Republicans were convinced that both of the affairs grew out of the purpose of the Democrats to so terrify the blacks that a large proportion of them would be afraid to vote. As first returned there appeared to be a small majority for Tilden in South

Carolina. The board of canvassers threw out the votes of two counties, acting in this matter by the plain authority of the laws of the State, and gave certificates to the Hayes electors. In Florida there was a little violence and a good deal of fraud, with the same result as in the case of South Carolina. In Louisiana the Republicans, judging from elections of previous years, had a large and certain majority. The Democrats selected five of the heaviest of the Republican parishes for a species of campaigning known as bulldozing. It was practically the South Carolina rifle club system, which, it may be mentioned, originated in Mississippi, in the State canvass of 1875, and was currently known in the South as the "Mississippi Plan." In Louisiana, however, it was somewhat modified and combined with features borrowed from the old Ku-Klux Klan. The scheme of the Democrats was well conceived, for if they could by their acts of violence overcome the Republican majorities in those five counties they could carry the State. The only alternative for the Republicans who controlled the State Government would, they thought, be to throw out the returns of the five counties entirely, and in that event the Democrats would also win the election. The returning board, composed of Republicans, was authorized by law to count and tabulate the votes and reject those from the precincts where the election had been vitiated by fraud or violence, and by this authority the board threw out the five bulldozed parishes, which left the Democrats a majority; but it also threw out a number of precincts in other parishes, so that the Republicans had a majority on the final count. The action of the board was undoubtedly legal, but it was violently assailed as wicked and corrupt by the Democrats. In a moral point of view the defeat of the Democratic scheme for carrying the State by terrorizing the Republican voters in five of the strongest Republican parishes was certainly justifiable.

When the Democrats saw that they had lost South Carolina, Florida, and Louisiana, and that Hayes would have a majority of one in the electoral count, they attempted to set up a bogus electoral college in Oregon. Five thousand dollars were sent out from New York to pay expenses, and more money was promised if the plot succeeded. Governor Grover, a Democrat, making himself the judge of the qualifications of the Oregon electors, decided that one of them was not competent, and commissioned the defeated Democratic candidate, named Cronin, in his place. Cronin held an electoral college by himself, ap-

pointed two other Democrats to fill vacancies, and sent on a pretended return to Washington.

The Democrats had a majority in the House of Representatives and the Republicans in the Senate, and there was a deadlock for a time over the question of the powers of the two Houses concerning the electoral count. The Democrats held that if one House should reject a return it could not be counted, while the Republicans took the ground that a concurrence of both Houses was necessary for the disfranchisement of a State, or the rejection of any part of its vote. It was also maintained by many Republicans, though not by all, that the President of the Senate was empowered by the Constitution to count the returns, and that the two Houses were only present in joint convention as official witnesses. This opinion had the support of the authority of many of the framers of the Constitution, and it was beyond dispute that the returns of all the early Presidential elections were counted in this way. Fortunately, a compromise was reached and a bill was passed, providing that all returns objected to by either House should be referred to a commission composed of five Senators, five Representatives, and five Justices of the Supreme Court, and that the decisions of the commission should stand unless overturned by the concurrent vote of both houses. With few exceptions the leading men of both parties united in this compromise. It was considered a patriotic thing to allay public excitement and avoid the growing danger of civil war by submitting the whole controversy to a judicial settlement. In the organization of the tribunal the representatives from the two Houses of Congress were evenly divided between the two parties. Two of the Supreme Court Justices selected had Republican antecedents and two Democratic, and the choice of the fifth Justice was left to these four. The Democrats supposed that their choice would fall upon Justice Davis of Illinois, but Davis was elected to the Senate by the Legislature of the State, and having thus stepped down from the bench into party politics, was not available. Justice Bradley, of New Jersey, was therefore selected. The questions before the tribunal were argued for weeks by some of the ablest lawyers in the country. On divisions the vote invariably stood eight to seven, the eight Republicans voting together, and the seven Democrats showing equal solidity. The Republicans took the ground that Congress had no right to go back of the regular formal returns of any State, to take up questions concerning frauds in elections or counts. The

Democrats abandoned for a time, in their extreme party necessity, their old State rights doctrine, and contended that Congress could set aside the regular returns and investigate the facts on which they were based. The adoption of this theory would have resulted in making Presidential elections useless, because no disputed election could ever be settled in the interval between the meetings of the electoral colleges in December and the time for the inauguration of the new President on the 4th of March. Either party could prolong an investigation till after March 4th, and thus enable the Senate to place its presiding officer in the Presidential chair.

The decisions of the commission made Rutherford B. Hayes President of the United States, giving him a majority of one electoral vote over Samuel J. Tilden. There was much menacing talk among the Democrats for a time about inaugurating Tilden and supporting him with the militia of the States having Democratic Governors. The House of Representatives passed resolutions declaring Tilden to be the lawfully elected President. An attempt was made by the Democrats of that body to filibuster so as to consume the time till noon on the 4th of March, and thus prevent the completion of the count. This scheme would have been carried out had it not been for the opposition of many of the Southern Democrats, who showed much more moderation and patriotism at this juncture than did their brethren at the North. The count was completed just in time, and Hayes was duly inaugurated without opposition. For years afterward, however, indeed up to the present time, it has been the fashion of the Democrats to denounce the Electoral Commission for which their own party leaders were as much responsible as those of the Republican party, and to stigmatize Mr. Hayes as a fraudulent President. Mr. Hayes' title, legally and morally, was just as clear as that of any President who ever occupied the White House. He had a majority of the electoral votes legally returned and legally counted, and if a fair election had been permitted in the South by the rifle clubs and bulldozing organizations he would have had a large majority of the popular vote.

CHAPTER XXV.

PRESIDENT HAYES' ADMINISTRATION—THE SOUTHERN QUESTION—
CIVIL SERVICE REFORM.

PRESIDENT GRANT went out of office with a great many opponents in his own party, and a great many devoted friends. His

administration failed to keep the Republican party united, but perhaps it was too strong and its majorities too large for harmony to prevail. It seems to be a law of parties that when one greatly overtops the other for a series of years it begins to crumble. If it has the binding force of principle, however, the disintegration only throws off some of the surface material, and ceases when it is brought down to about the size of the opposing party. The mistakes President Grant made in regard to persons and policy will hardly be remembered in history, and need not be dwelt on here. Future generations will think of only two things in connection with his eight years in the White House, and both will be regarded as bright and enduring honors worthily added to his great military fame—that he held the country firmly up to the results of the war, and that he stood like a rock to stem the current of the paper-money inflation mania. To the title of victor over the Rebellion which he won at Appomattox may truthfully be added that of defender of the public credit and protector of the principle of equal rights for all citizens.

When Mr. Hayes entered upon the duties of the Presidential office, rival State governments existed in South Carolina and Louisiana. The Florida imbroglio had been settled by the action of the State Supreme Court. In South Carolina the Republicans claimed to have elected Governor Chamberlain by the same vote which chose the Presidential electors. The Democrats claimed that Wade Hampton was lawfully elected. Each party had inaugurated its Governor, and each had a Legislature in session—the Republicans in the State House, protected by a force of United State troops, the Democrats in a building hired for the purpose. After a delay of over a month, which was unfortunate because irritating to the public mind both North and South, the President ordered the troops to withdraw from the State House, and the Chamberlain government instantly ceased to exist. The Hampton government took possession of the State House without opposition, admitted a portion of the members of the Republican Legislature, and, professing an intention to forget the past and to treat all citizens fairly, assumed complete control of the State.

In Louisiana the condition of things was more complicated than in South Carolina. The Republicans, under Governor Packard, had a complete State government installed in the State House in New Orleans, but it could not make its authority respected in the State, and was actually a close prisoner in the

Capitol building. The Democrats, under Governor Nicholls, ran a government in Odd Fellows Hall, and having a large force of well-disciplined white militia at their command were able to enforce their authority. With their troops and with the police of New Orleans they so overawed the Republican officials, legislators, and guards that they did not venture to cross an imaginary line drawn through the middle of the streets surrounding the State House. In a building adjoining the State House a regiment of United States troops was quartered, and a passage was opened between the two structures so that the soldiers could go to the assistance of Governor Packard in case of an attack. Throughout the State the Democrats had displaced the Republican local officials chosen at the fall election, and thus controlled the judiciary and the county offices in all the parishes except those in the sugar-planting region, where the blacks were in an overwhelming majority. A few unprincipled colored men went back and forth between the two Legislatures, making a quorum in whatever body they appeared. President Hayes sent a commission to New Orleans to effect a compromise if possible. Its members were Judge Lawrence, of Illinois, General Hawley, of Connecticut, Wayne McVeagh, of Pennsylvania, Judge Harlan, of Kentucky, and ex-Governor Brown, of Tennessee. It was finally arranged that the Nicholls government should be allowed to go on, that a Legislature should be made up of the two conflicting organizations, that the troops should be withdrawn from protecting Packard, and that no prosecutions for political reasons should be commenced against Republicans. Governor Packard did not assent to these terms. Seeing that he could not sustain himself, he abandoned the State House, and the Nicholls government moved in. The Democrats soon broke faith by beginning criminal suits against members of the Returning Board for the purpose, as was generally reported, of forcing the administration to give them control of the New Orleans Custom House patronage. The State Supreme Court finally put a stop to these proceedings. The Senate at Washington admitted Kellogg, the Senator chosen by the Packard Legislature, thus virtually recognizing the legality of the Packard government, but in the case of South Carolina it seated Butler, whom the Democratic Legislature had chosen, while still in a fragmentary and illegal condition. This was done as a compromise, but two years later the Democrats sought to unseat Kellogg, and were only prevented by three or four Southern Senators breaking

away from the party caucus, and sustaining Kellogg on the ground that his case was *res adjudicata*.

President Hayes' action in the South Carolina and Louisiana affairs gave rise to severe criticism and active opposition in the Republican party. A portion of the Republicans calling themselves "Stalwarts" insisted that the titles of Chamberlain and Packard were just as good as that of Mr. Hayes, and should have been defended with the whole power of the Government, if necessary. Another element believed that the experiment of sustaining Southern governments with Federal bayonets had failed to produce order, prosperity, and security of the civil rights of the negroes, and that the only course left was to let the Southern States alone to manage their own affairs.

Whatever might be the legal and moral title of Packard and Chamberlain, this latter class argued, it was impolitic to sustain with armed force authority which could not make itself respected. This class hoped that the policy of non-interference would soon lead to the division of the Southern whites, to the blotting out of the color line in Southern politics, and to the growth of a new Republican organization, composed of both whites and blacks. They were encouraged in this belief by the statements of many prominent Southern men, who said, "Give us home rule, and the feeling of intolerance toward the Republican party will cease." Eight years have passed since then, and the hope of a division in the "solid South" has not been verified. Opposition to the Democratic party in that section is still regarded as in some sort treason to the interests of the South, as though the South were not a component part of the United States, but a political entity separate and apart. In most of the Southern States no opposition is made to the negroes voting as they please, but the counting and return of the votes are in the hands of the Democratic officials, and public opinion, so far as it is shaped by the respectable white classes, justifies any fraud that is necessary to wipe out Republican majorities.

Besides the Southern question, there came up another issue upon which Republicans disagreed. An agitation began during President Grant's administration for a reform in the civil service. Grant yielded to it so far as to create a commission which prescribed rules for the examination of candidates for office. The movement went beyond this and demanded that appointments should not be made as a reward for party service; that the public offices should not be dispensed by Senators and

Congressmen to their followers and favorites, and that public officials should not employ their time in managing caucuses and conventions, and in working for the success of candidates. The Cincinnati platform promised this sort of reform, and President Hayes believed in it. He attempted to carry it out by disregarding, when he saw fit, the recommendations of Senators and Representatives concerning appointments and removals in their States or districts, and by issuing an order commanding office-holders to refrain from taking part in caucuses, conventions, and other forms of party work. On the one side it was held that this policy weakened the party organization and deprived the officials of their rights as citizens to take an active part in politics; on the other it was maintained that the policy was a good one, tending to elevate politics and to release the party from the rule of cliques of office-holders, who organized "machines" to override the will of a large majority of the voters. The ideas of the Civil Service Reformers were afterwards adopted during President Arthur's administration. So far as they were applicable to the Departments at Washington and the principal custom-houses and post-offices, and a law was passed by the votes of a majority of both parties in Congress to give them effect.

The dissensions above referred to so weakened the Republican party that in 1877 it lost several of the States it had carried in 1876. Time and good sense soon healed them in a large measure, however. The Republican party recovered its compactness in 1878, in the defense of the Specie Payment Act against the assaults of the Democrats. It was powerfully aided, too, by an exposure made by the *New York Tribune* of a secret correspondence in cipher, carried on during the winter of 1876-7 between Mr. Tilden's nephew Pelton and other confidential friends in New York and certain agents sent out to capture the electoral votes of the States of South Carolina, Florida, Louisiana, and Oregon. The employment of corrupt means to bribe electors or returning authorities in those States was plainly shown by these dispatches. The disposition of some Republicans to think Mr. Tilden might possibly have been fairly elected and unjustly kept out of the Presidency vanished when the means adopted by his close friends to secure him the office were thus exposed.

CHAPTER XXVI.

THE RESUMPTION OF SPECIE PAYMENTS—THE ELECTION LAWS—
DEMOCRATIC ATTEMPT TO COERCE THE EXECUTIVE.

THE act of 1875 providing for a return to specie payments on the first of January, 1879, was a Republican measure, and for four years was defended by the Republicans against the attacks of the Democrats. A few Western Republicans joined in these attacks, and a few Eastern Democrats helped repulse them; but the great mass of one party favored the redemption of the greenback notes in coin, and the great mass of the other wanted the law repealed. Many Democrats embraced the notion of "fiat money," asserting that the government by its fiat can make absolute money out of paper or any other valueless material. Gold and silver money was a relic of barbarism, they declared, to use valuable metals for currency when paper, which cost next to nothing, would answer the purpose much better, being wasteful and foolish. These deluded people wanted all the greenbacks and the national bank notes retired and replaced by a new kind of Government notes, bearing no promise to pay on their faces, but simply declaring themselves to be money of different denominations. These notes were to be issued in quantities sufficient "to meet the wants of trade," and were never to be redeemed.

As the time fixed for resumption drew near, the clamor against the law increased. Every business failure was ascribed by the Democratic press in the West and South to the effect of the act, and the speedy ruin of the business of the country was predicted. John Sherman, who as Secretary of the Treasury made careful preparation for resumption, and opposed any postponement of the date, was a special target for criticism and abuse. Specie payments were resumed on the day appointed by law, without the slightest shock or disturbance to business interests. Industrial and commercial prosperity began to return to the country shortly afterward, and soon the wisdom of the Resumption Act was acknowledged by every one. Even the fanatical paper-money doctrinaires, who formed a party by themselves, because the Democrats did not go far enough in the direction of repudiation and inflation to satisfy them, ceased to demand in their platforms the repeal of the law. Like the former inflationists in the Democratic party, they have come

down to a demand for the retirement of bank-notes and the substitution of greenbacks for them.

In the Congress which closed March 4th, 1879, the Democrats controlled the House and the Republicans the Senate. The Democrats sought to accomplish the repeal of the Federal election laws in spite of the opposition of both the Senate and the President. These laws were passed in 1870, after an investigation of the gigantic frauds perpetrated in the City of New York at the election of 1868. They were always objectionable to the Democrats, theoretically because they conflicted with their traditional views about State rights, and practically because they prevented the repetition of the frauds of 1868 for the benefit of the Democratic party. The Republicans defended the laws because of their demonstrated utility in securing fair elections, and because they were based on the sound constitutional principle of the right of Congress to regulate elections that are national in their character. The Democrats tacked a section repealing the election laws upon a general appropriation bill. They also placed on the Army Appropriation Bill a section prohibiting the use of troops at elections to keep the peace or suppress riots. Rather than abandon these "riders" they let the bills fail, and forced an extra session of Congress.

In the new Congress the Democrats controlled both Houses, and had only the President to grapple with. Mr. Hayes resolved to defend the election laws with his veto power. As for the matter of troops at the polls, he exposed the issue as a fictitious one, showing that there were already ample provisions of law forbidding the use of troops for political purposes. He refused to abandon for the Executive the right to enforce obedience to law, with the military arm if necessary, at places where elections were held, as well as elsewhere. So the issue was joined. The Democrats threatened to break down the Government by leaving it without means to exist if the President did not yield. Mr. Hayes stood firm, and answered them by a series of vetoes directed against their measures, which maintained, by arguments of remarkable force and clearness, the supremacy of the nation in all matters of national concern, and the independence of the Executive from Congressional dictation. Baffled at every point in the long struggle, the Democrats finally yielded and passed all the appropriations except the one providing for the payment of the United States marshals. They declared, however, that they would renew the contest at the next session, but the fall elections were against

them, and they did not resume hostilities in the session which began December, 1879. Only a remnant of the controversy was preserved in a proviso, which they put upon an appropriation bill at the close of the session, prohibiting the payment of deputy marshals for services at elections.

CHAPTER XXVII.

THE CAMPAIGN OF 1880—NOMINATION AND ELECTION OF

JAMES A. GARFIELD.

THE idea of electing General Grant in 1880 for a third term was in the minds of many prominent Republicans from the day he left the White House. Most of these men had favored his nomination in 1876, but considerable feeling arose in the country against a third term, and to assure the people that the party did not meditate conferring upon Grant greater honors than Washington had received, several Republican State Conventions passed resolutions in 1875, declaring that they were opposed to the election of any President for more than two terms. General Grant went abroad in 1877 and spent two years in foreign travel, making the circuit of the globe and visiting nearly all the great nations of the earth. He was received, wherever he went, with honors such as are only accorded to reigning monarchs. Regarded as the representative of the great American Republic and the most distinguished of living military chieftains, rulers and people everywhere made his journey a succession of brilliant official and popular demonstrations. These remarkable honors were almost as flattering to his countrymen as to himself, and served to keep his name and fame fresh in their minds. Before he returned to the United States, in the fall of 1879, it was plain that a strong movement would be made to secure his nomination. With characteristic reticence he neither assented nor objected to this movement, but remained perfectly passive. Most of the politicians who had held positions under his administration naturally desired his return to power, and there was besides a considerable body of Republicans who had not been office-holders and did not expect to be, who believed he would be the most popular candidate the party could nominate, and urged his candidacy on the ground of expediency. His most prominent supporters were the three influential Senators from New York, Pennsylvania, and Illinois—Conkling, Cameron, and Logan. The

Southern Republicans were almost unanimous in his favor. A considerable majority of the Northern Republicans opposed his nomination, however, because they believed it would be a violation of the tradition of two terms only, and a step toward personal government. Besides, they thought it would furnish the Democrats with a popular issue—opposition to a third term—on which the Republicans would be placed in the position of defending an innovation upon a safe, conservative, long-established custom. The discussion of the question of nominating Grant began in earnest in December, 1879, and lasted without intermission until the National Convention met at Chicago on the 10th of June following. Most of the anti-third-term men supported Senator James G. Blaine, of Maine, the most popular of the Republican leaders. A considerable number favored the Secretary of the Treasury, John Sherman, of Ohio, making his excellent record as a Republican and his brilliant success in the resumption of specie payments the ground of their choice. Senator Geo. F. Edmunds, of Vermont, had the backing of his own State and of Massachusetts; Elihu B. Washburne, ex-minister to Paris, had a small Western following, and Senator William Windom, of Minnesota, was supported by that State. Neither candidate had votes enough to nominate him. The first ballot in the convention stood: Grant, 304; Blaine, 284; Sherman, 93; Edmunds, 34; Washburne, 30; Windom, 10. On the second ballot one vote was given to Gen. Garfield, of Ohio, and on most of the subsequent ballots, during the first day's voting he had 2. The above figures were pretty closely preserved for thirty-three ballots. The Grant men could have controlled the nomination if they had been willing to drop their candidate and take up a new man, but they stuck to the ex-President with absolute fidelity. Both the Blaine men and the Sherman men were equally devoted to their leaders. The dead-lock was finally brought to an end by the Wisconsin delegation voting for Garfield on the 34th ballot, against his protest. As the leader of the Ohio delegation, Garfield was a supporter of Sherman, and he objected to being put in an apparent attitude of willingness to abandon the Ohio candidate. On the next ballot, however, Indiana followed Ohio, and on the 36th ballot nearly the whole body of anti-third term men swung into line for Garfield, giving him the nomination by the following vote: Garfield, 399; Grant, 306; Blaine, 42; Sherman, 3; Washburne, 5. The result was a fortunate one. General

Garfield was acceptable to all the elements in the convention, and the whole party dropped at once all former causes of difference and rallied to his support. Chester A. Arthur, of New York, an earnest Grant man, was nominated for the Vice-Presidency, with a view of making the ticket represent both wings of the party lately engaged in a contest over the question of Grant's candidacy. The vote was—Arthur, 468; Washburne, 193; Jewell, 44; Maynard, 30; Bruce, 8. General Arthur's experience as chairman of the New York Republican State Committee made him peculiarly available, and his prominence as a Grant man rendered him specially acceptable to the element which had before controlled Republican politics in New York. The ticket was instantly indorsed by the entire Republican press and by men of all shades of Republican opinion.

By a happy inspiration the convention selected, instead of the obscure man of only local fame who usually comes out of such close contests with the nomination, one of the best known, most trusted, and ablest of the national leaders of the Republican party. At the same time it secured a man with extraordinary elements of personal popularity in his career—a man who rose from the ranks of toil, who gained the means for his education at the carpenter's bench and on the tow-path of a canal, who served with distinguished bravery in the war, and who has won his way, by pure merit and honest effort, to the highest walks of statesmanship and scholarly culture.

The Democratic National Convention met at Cincinnati on the 22d of June. The party had been suffering from the standing candidacy of Samuel J. Tilden, who had a claim upon the nomination based on the assertion by the Democratic leaders and newspapers that he was elected in 1876 and defrauded of the office. He personified the "fraud issue," and it was manifestly impossible for the party to make that issue prominent without making him its candidate. Mr. Tilden wrote a letter just before the convention assembled, declining in terms the nomination. The letter presented, however, in a masterly manner, the arguments in favor of his candidacy, and was generally regarded as intended to strengthen his chances for the nomination. On the first ballot the delegates scattered their votes as follows: Hancock, 171; Bayard, 153½; Field, 65; Morrison, 62; Hendricks, 49½; Thurman, 68½; Payne, 81; Tilden, 38; Ewing, 10; Seymour, 8; scattering, 28.

After this ballot the convention adjourned until the next

day, and during the night the opponents of Tilden managed to combine upon General Hancock, who was nominated next morning. The second ballot stood: Hancock, 319; Randall, 129½; Bayard, 113; Field, 65½; Thurman, 30; Hendricks, 31; English, 19; Tilden, 6; scattering, 3. Changes were made before the vote was announced which nominated Hancock, he having 705 votes to Hendricks, 30; Bayard 2, and Tilden 1.

Hancock had been the standing candidate, since 1868, of those Democrats who wanted to repeat the McClellan experiment with a better soldier than McClellan. A National Greenback Convention met in Chicago, June 11th, and nominated J. B. Weaver, of Iowa, for President, and E. J. Chambers, of Texas, for Vice-President.

The early part of the campaign was rather quiet. The Republicans talked most of the continued solidity of the States which had engaged in the rebellion as a standing menace to the results of the war and also to the principles of free government, since in those States no opposition to the rule of the Democratic party could get a foothold by reason of the intense hostility of the property-holding classes to all other forms of political organization. Much less impression was made on the public mind, however, by the Southern issue than by the tariff question, which did not get fairly into the canvass until after the Democrats, in alliance with the Greenbackers, carried Maine at the State election in August. Certain letters of General Hancock, published about this time, showing a curious want of knowledge of the tariff question, aided the Republicans to bring the issue of free trade or protection to American industry prominently before the country. In the Democratic platform an explicit declaration in favor of a tariff for revenue only had been inserted to please the South. The Republicans boldly took up the question and made effective use of it by showing just what the result of the abandonment of the protective policy would be to the manufacturing interests of the country. They did not rest content with a general discussion of the matter, but brought the issue straight home to the mechanics and operatives in every town, showing them by figures that could not be controverted what the effect of the Democratic policy would be on their own earnings. The Democrats had supposed that their tariff-for-revenue-only plank would strengthen them in the critical State of Indiana, which with Ohio voted for State officers in October, but the contrary proved to be the case, for the Republicans were enabled to or-

ganize a strong uniformed corps, called the Knights of Labor, with detachments in every town, which made manifest its protest against the proposed blow to American industry by torch-light parades, and military exercises, and did excellent campaign work.

The supporters of Gen. Grant had felt a good deal chagrined at the defeat of their candidate at Chicago, and at one time it was feared they would not enter heartily into the work of the campaign, but their candidate set them an example which brought them out of their lethargy. In August Gen. Grant appeared on the stump in Ohio, in support of Gen. Garfield, and he afterwards delivered a number of short speeches at different places in both the East and the West. At the same time Senator Roscoe Conkling, of New York, Grant's most conspicuous supporter, took the field. The canvass at once became active, and the Republicans rapidly gained ground. They carried Indiana and Ohio at the October election, though not without a strenuous effort, and by so doing practically settled the result in November. Just before the November election an unscrupulous effort to defeat Gen. Garfield was made through the agency of a small daily newspaper in New York called *Truth*. This paper published a forged letter, engraved in imitation of Garfield's handwriting, in which he was made to take ground in favor of the importation of Chinese cheap labor. The Democratic committee sent out electrotype plates of this false letter to large numbers of newspapers of their party so as to secure its publication in all parts of the country. The rascality of the whole affair was promptly exposed by the Republicans, but the Democratic press professed to believe the letter genuine until after the election, and it undoubtedly took thousands of votes away from the Republicans. California and Nevada were lost to them by reason of it, there not being time enough before the election to give effect to the denials of the authenticity of the document at such a distance. The success of the Republicans on the national field was, however, decisive. General Garfield had a majority of 59 electoral votes, the result being, Garfield, 214; Hancock, 155. The popular vote was very close, owing to the want of organization of the Republican party in the South, where proscription combined with election frauds made the canvass a one-sided affair. Garfield had a plurality over Hancock of only 7,018. The vote stood, Garfield, 4,449,053; Hancock, 4,442,035; Weaver, 307,306; scattering, 12,576; of which Neal Dow, the candidate of

the Prohibitionists, received 10,305. To a considerable extent the result of the election was sectional in its character, since all the Southern States voted for Hancock and all the Northern States for Garfield, except New Jersey, California, and Nevada.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

ADMINISTRATION OF PRESIDENT GARFIELD—HIS ASSASSINATION— VICE-PRESIDENT ARTHUR'S ADMINISTRATION.

GEN. GARFIELD was inaugurated on the 4th of March, 1881. He followed to some extent, in the formation of his Cabinet, the example of Abraham Lincoln, inviting to it several prominent Republican leaders who had been defeated by him as candidates for the Presidential nomination. Mr. Blaine, the leading candidate in the Chicago convention as opposed to General Grant, was made Secretary of State, and the Treasury Department was assigned to William Windom, of Minnesota, who had received a respectable vote in the convention. For the Interior Department, the new President selected Samuel J. Kirkwood, of Iowa, who had been Governor of his State, and was, like Mr. Windom, a member of the Senate at the time of his appointment. For Postmaster-General, Thomas L. James, who had managed with notable success the post-office of the City of New York, was selected, and for Secretary of War, Robert T. Lincoln, son of the great President of that name, but himself a new man in national politics. The Attorney-General was Wayne MacVeagh, of Pennsylvania, an ardent advocate of Civil Service Reform, and the Secretary of the Navy was an eminent Louisiana republican, Wm. H. Hunt. The Cabinet worked together harmoniously, but the feud between the two elements in the party, which had healed during the canvass, by the efforts of Gen. Grant, broke out afresh over the question of the Federal appointments in the State of New York. The Republicans of that State had long been divided into two factions known as "Stalwarts" and "Half-breeds," the former led by Senator Conkling, and the other without any definite leadership, but with a very strong array of voters. The Stalwarts believed in what was known as machine politics, which meant the close organization and strict discipline of the party, and the use of the public offices as patronage to reward party services and increase party efficiency. This faction had supported Gen. Grant for Presidential nomination

the year before, while the opposing faction had rallied upon Mr. Blaine. President Garfield early provoked the antagonism of Mr. Conkling and his followers, by refusing to accede to the doctrine that the principal Federal offices in a State should be disposed of according to the pleasure of the Senators representing that State, without regard to the President's own views and preferences. The desire of the new President was to heal the dissensions in the State of New York, but he was not willing that Senator Conkling should practically exercise the appointing power, and exclude from office all those who belonged to the element which succeeded in the Chicago convention; in other words, President Garfield was naturally averse to a course of action which would ostracise the Republicans who had preferred him for that nomination to Gen. Grant.

An open rupture was caused by the appointment of W. H. Robertson, one of the principal leaders of the anti-machine, or Half-breed element in New York, to the Collectorship of the port of New York. Prior to making this appointment, President Garfield had appointed to important positions in the State a number of Senator Conkling's friends. Mr. Conkling conceived that the appointment of Robertson was an act of hostility towards himself. He resigned his seat in the Senate, and was imitated by Mr. Platt, the other Senator from New York. Both proceeded to Albany, where the Legislature was in session, and sought a re-election, in order to obtain a vindication from their constituency as a new weapon to use in their fight with the President. The Legislature, however, refused to send them back to Washington, and filled their places with other men.

Another cause of trouble to the Garfield administration came from the discovery of enormous frauds in carrying the mails in the new regions of the far West, on what were known as the Star routes. This designation is applied to mail routes where the service is performed on horseback or in stage-coaches. By connivance between the contractors and certain officials in the Post-Office Department in Washington, large sums of money were unlawfully drawn from the Treasury in payment for services not rendered. Contracts let for mail service once a week were expedited by the Department and made daily contracts and the rate of pay greatly increased. On some of these expedited routes the old weekly service was continued, while the contractors drew pay for pretended daily service. A few politicians who had been prominent in national affairs were inter-

ested in these contracts, and a great outcry was made against President Garfield by these men and their friends because of his determination to uncover the whole fraudulent business and bring to trial the guilty parties. Newspapers in Washington, owned by Star route contractors and by a Post-Office Department official who had served their interest, were violent in their denunciations of the President and his Cabinet. These two elements of opposition, namely, the stalwart faction in New York, represented by Senator Conkling, and the Star Route contractors and their friends, made common cause against the President and his Cabinet. President Garfield pursued the straightforward course he had marked out for himself with great determination, and without regard to the excitement and antagonism which raged around him.

Thus the first four months of the new administration passed away. The feeling of the politicians, who had been disappointed in their expectations of controlling the patronage of the government, grew more and more bitter, and their cause was zealously espoused by the Star Routing which had been cut off by the new Postmaster-General from its most profitable relations with the Treasury, and was threatened by legal proceedings already begun with serious penalties. Into the whirlpool of partisan strife and hatred at Washington, there came a weak-minded, egotistical trifle, named Guiteau, who had led an adventurous and somewhat disreputable career, being by turns a small politician and a religious enthusiast. This conceited, semi-lunatic applied for office, and being disappointed in his absurd ambition, conceived a violent hatred for President Garfield, which was fed to a flame by the articles he read in a Washington newspaper, and by the talk of the Stalwart opponents of the administration. He bought a pistol, laid in wait in a railway depot, and when President Garfield was passing through to take the train for his summer resting-place, at Elberon, New Jersey, he fired at him and inflicted a deadly wound.

The stricken President languished for weeks in the White House at Washington, the victim of the doctors as well as of his cruel wound. The assassin's shot stilled at once the angry storm of partisan controversy, and the suffering President became the object of a sympathy which was world-wide; indeed, the history of mankind never before afforded the spectacle of a single individual attracting day by day the close and sympathetic attention of the entire civilized globe. Week after

week the bulletins of his condition were read in every part of the world reached by telegraph. His recovery was from the first extremely doubtful, but his strong constitution long resisted the deadly effects of the wound. In September he was removed to Elberon, near Long Branch, in the desperate hope that the sea air might give him strength. There he died, on the 19th of September, 1881.

Vice-President Arthur, who was called to the Executive Chair by this lamentable event, had been identified in his political career with the faction of New York Republicans led by Mr. Conkling. He was naturally an object of distrust and dislike to the element represented by Gen. Garfield, and serious apprehensions were entertained that his administration of the government would widen the breach among Republicans, and ultimately lead to the destruction of the party. Mr. Arthur appreciated the delicacy of his situation, however, and cautiously avoided any action which would further identify him with the enemies of the dead President. He made very few changes at first in the public offices, but, after a few months, the members of the Garfield Cabinet dropped out one by one, from the feeling that they were out of place, until but one remained, the Secretary of War. The State elections of 1881 were carried by the Republicans without much difficulty, on the strength of the feeling of sorrow over the death of Garfield. In 1882, however, the party suffered severe reverses, losing most of the close States in the North. The most significant result of the contest of that year was in the State of New York. Here President Arthur had influenced the nomination of a personal friend, Judge Folger, for Governor. The feeling got abroad that the administration had interfered to control the nominating convention, and that the friends of the late President had, in consequence, been pushed to the wall. The result was an overwhelming defeat of the Republican ticket; Judge Folger being beaten by 192,854 majority.

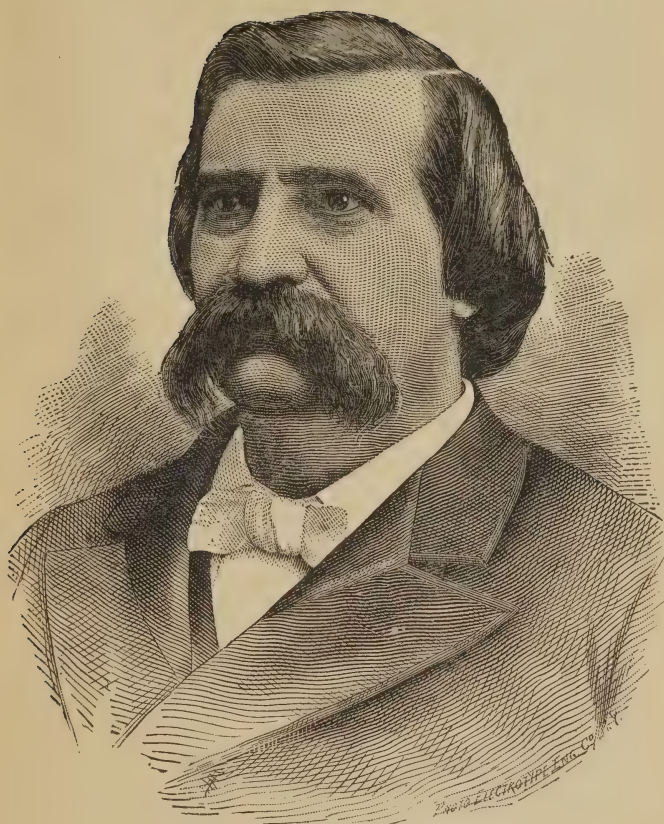
After this rude experience President Arthur ceased to concern himself actively with State politics, and by quiet, dignified, and conservative management of the duties of his office, succeeded little by little in winning the respect of both parties, and the regard of his own. He adopted as a rule of practice the views of the Civil Service Reformers, that public offices should be held during the good behavior of the incumbent, and should not be dispensed by Senators and Representatives in Congress as political patronage. A Civil Service Commission

was created by Act of Congress, to recommend after competitive examination candidates for positions in the Departments at Washington and in the principal post-offices and custom houses of the country. This system has thus far worked well, and has very quietly and with little agitation effected a revolution in the public service. President Arthur's appointments to the higher offices which have become vacant during his administration, have been, as a rule, notably sagacious, and his administration has been characterized by an administrative and business-like efficiency. The old factional feuds which distracted the party have disappeared under the wholesome influence of time, and the Republican party is once more in the full possession of all its former strength and efficiency. The rather colorless and inactive administration of Mr. Arthur has proven to be wise and salutary for the good of the country, producing an unusual degree of harmony and good feeling.

CHAPTER XXIX.

THE CAMPAIGN OF 1884—NOMINATION OF BLAINE AND LOGAN.

THE Republican National Convention for 1884 assembled on June 3d, in Chicago—a city where the party had already chosen three successful candidates for the presidency, Lincoln, Grant, and Garfield. Public opinion in the party was unusually slow in manifesting decided preferences for candidates prior to the meeting of the convention. It was not until March and April that the question began to be actively canvassed throughout the country. Then it was evident that James G. Blaine had lost nothing of the great popularity which in 1876 and again in 1880 had given him a strength among the Republican voters greater than that of any other candidate, and lacking but a few votes in the conventions of those years of the number necessary for a nomination. Mr. Blaine had been wholly out of public life since he retired from the Cabinet a few weeks after the death of President Garfield, and had been devoting his time to the writing of a history of Congress during the eventful twenty years of his service at the Capital. His retirement had prevented him from taking part in the discussion of public measures, and from appearing in his old conspicuous position of a party leader, and was therefore a crucial test of the strength and endurance of his hold on the



JOHN A. LOGAN.

respect and affection of the Republican masses. No man who had not deeply impressed himself upon the current of his times, and upon the hearts of the people, could go through an ordeal of three years' seclusion without a loss of prestige and popularity that would be fatal to any chances he might have of a Presidential nomination. The event proved that Mr. Blaine had gained instead of lost in political strength since he laid down the portfolio of the State Department. Without any effort in his own behalf he obtained the support of a very large majority of the delegates to the National Convention from the Republican States, and he received 334½ votes on the first ballot.

Mr. Blaine's chief competitor for the nomination was President Arthur, who obtained the almost solid support of the Southern States, to which was added a considerable part of the vote of his own State of New York. The weakness of Mr. Arthur's candidacy lay in the fact that outside of New York, and of a few scattering votes from other Northern States, his delegates represented States which could render no aid in the election of the Republican nominee. The Southern States are still under the political domination of the leaders of the late rebellion, and with the exception of Virginia, where the Democrats have divided into two factions, not one of them can be placed in the list of probable Republican States. Furthermore, Mr. Arthur's candidacy assumed an official rather than a popular phase, his conspicuous supporters being for the most part Federal office-holders, save in the city of New York, where his prudent administration had won for him the endorsement of many prominent business men. Mr. Arthur's first and highest vote was 278.

The third candidate in relative strength in the balloting was Senator Edmunds, of Vermont, who at the start was supported by 93 delegates, chiefly from Massachusetts, Vermont, and New York. Senator John A. Logan, of Illinois, was the candidate of his own State, receiving with some outside help 63½ votes on the first ballot. Senator Hawley, of Connecticut, had 13 votes; Senator Sherman, of Ohio, 30; Robert T. Lincoln, Secretary of War, a son of Abraham Lincoln, who was much talked of by the press a few months before as a possible strong candidate, received four, and the retired general of the army, W. T. Sherman, was given two votes, in spite of his repeated refusals to allow his name to be used. It is an interesting fact that of the eight candidates voted for, only one, Mr. Blaine, held no official position at the time. One was President, four were United States Senators, one was a Cabinet

Minister, and one a General on the retired list. The result of the balloting is shown in the following table:

CANDIDATES.	First Ballot.	Second Ballot.	Third Ballot.	Fourth Ballot.
Blaine, - - - - -	334½	349	375	539
Arthur, - - - - -	278	276	274	207
Edmunds, - - - - -	93	85	53	33
Logan, - - - - -	63½	61	69	.....
Hawley, - - - - -	13	13	13	7
John Sherman, - - -	30	28	25	15
Lincoln, - - - - -	4	4	8	15
W. T. Sherman, - - -	2	2	2	2

In the convention of 1876 Mr. Blaine was defeated by a combination of all the other candidates. In 1880 Gen. Grant's solid forces stood in the way of his nomination and he threw his own support to Gen. Garfield, and thus won a victory in the person of his friend. In the convention of 1884, he was too strong to be beaten by any combination or to be compelled to retire in favor of any weaker candidate. His nomination was a triumph of positive, practical statesmanship in domestic affairs, and of a courageous, intelligent Americanism in the relations of the United States with other nations.

The supporters of Gen. Logan went over in a body to Mr. Blaine on the fourth ballot. After this it was only natural that the friendly feeling always entertained by the Blaine men for the Illinois Senator should take the direction of a determination to place him on the ticket for Vice-President. The convention took a recess until evening, after the nomination for President had been consummated, and when it reassembled the enthusiasm for Logan swept away all opposition. He was nominated on the first ballot, receiving 779 votes to 6 for Gresham, of Indiana, 3 for Fairchild, of Wisconsin, and 1 for Foraker, of Ohio. General Logan's gallant war record, his strong hold on the affections of the former soldiers of the Union armies, and his long, conspicuous, and honorable career in both houses of Congress made his nomination a peculiarly fortunate one.

The platform upon which the Republican party undertakes its eighth national canvass is not made up of glittering generalities, but deals explicitly with the living questions of the times. It re-affirms the consistent policy of the party in regard to protection for American industry. It favors the regulation of railway corporations. It opposes Chinese immigration, and endorses the eight-hour system for labor. It pledges

the party to sustain and extend the Civil Service reform principles which it has introduced. It demands the reservation of the public lands for small holdings of actual settlers, and the forfeiture of lapsed land grants where there has been no attempt in good faith to comply with their conditions. It pledges the party to place all pensioners on an equal footing by repealing the limitation of the Arrears Act of 1879, so that all pensions may date back to the time of the disability or discharge. It demands the restoration of the Navy to its old strength and efficiency. It asserts that appointments to offices in the Territories should be made from *bona fide* citizens and residents. It demands the suppression of polygamy in Utah. It re-affirms the cardinal Republican doctrine that the United States constitute a nation and not a mere confederacy of States, and that it is the duty of the nation to secure to all its citizens the full and complete recognition, possession, and exercise of all civil and political rights.

The Convention met on Tuesday, June 3d, and adjourned late on the evening of Friday, June 6th. It was harmonious and enthusiastic. Its ticket was probably the first choice of a larger number of Republican voters than any that has been put in the field since the first nomination of Gen. Grant, in 1868.

CHAPTER XXX.

A FEW WORDS IN CONCLUSION

IN the foregoing chapters the main current of Republican action has been clearly traced, beginning with the hostility of the party to the extension of slavery, and continuing through its successive defence of the integrity of the American Union, its emancipation of the slaves, its reorganization of the rebellious States, its establishment of equal suffrage and equal citizenship for all, its defence of the public credit, and its resumption of specie payments. Outside of this main channel of patriotic activity it has accomplished many things which should not be overlooked, even in so brief a sketch as is given in these pages. It has steadily reduced the debt resulting from the war, and has paid off and cancelled the enormous amount of \$1,136,000,000 in the period between 1865 and 1883. At the same time it has been so successful in funding the principal of the remaining debt in low-interest bonds that it has effected a saving, in the matter of interest alone, of \$86,000,000 a year, thus further lessening the burden of the debt. It has steadily reduced taxation and public expenditures. It has greatly improved and simplified the protective tariff system, originated by the Whig party, and has by its legislation of the past twenty years so encouraged and shielded American manufactures that they have increased more than fourfold and are now able to command our own markets and to compete in many lines with the manufactures of older countries in the markets of the world. While opposing all monopolies, the Republican party has had for its central idea in its tariff legislation the fact that the perpetuity of free institutions in this country requires an intelligent laboring class, and that such a class cannot exist upon the pauper wages paid to the laborers of the Old World. The party has also carried out the policy of internal improvements, originated by the Whig party, and by a system of judicious legislation has opened the great rivers of the country to navigation, improved its harbors, and connected the Atlantic with the Pacific coast by great railway lines. It has established a national banking system which saves the people millions of dollars annually by protecting them against the losses incident to the old State banking systems which preceded it. It has greatly improved the postal

system, giving to the country fast mails and letter-carrier deliveries. It has established the principle of international arbitration as a means of averting war. It has put into operation a practical reform in the Civil Service. A catalogue of the wise measures it has adopted would be far too long to be given here. Nearly all of these measures were resisted at the time of their adoption by the opposition party, but with scarcely an exception they have come to be approved by that party as wise and patriotic. No one can see into the future of American politics, but it is evident that the party which has been able to meet all of the issues of the most important epoch in the nation's history with such signal intelligence and such remarkable success is not near the end of its career. The day is probably far distant when a complete and final history of the Republican party can be written. The author presents these pages only as a brief outline sketch of the first thirty years of its existence.

REPUBLICAN PRINCIPLES.

FIRST REPUBLICAN NATIONAL PLATFORM.

ADOPTED AT PHILADELPHIA, JUNE 17TH, 1856.

THIS convention of delegates, assembled in pursuance of a call addressed to the people of the United States, without regard to past political differences or divisions, who are opposed to the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, to the policy of the present administration, to the extension of slavery into free territory; in favor of admitting Kansas as a free State, of restoring the action of the Federal Government to the principles of Washington and Jefferson, and who purpose to unite in presenting candidates for the offices of President and Vice-President, do resolve as follows:

Resolved, That the maintenance of the principles promulgated in the Declaration of Independence and embodied in the Federal Constitution is essential to the preservation of our republican institutions, and that the Federal Constitution, the rights of the States, and the Union of the States, shall be preserved.

Resolved, That with our republican fathers we hold it to be a self-evident truth that all men are endowed with the inalienable rights to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, and that the primary object and ulterior designs of our Federal Government were to secure these rights to all persons within its exclusive jurisdiction; that as our Republican fathers, when they had abolished slavery in all of our national territory, ordained that no person should be deprived of life, liberty, or property without due process of law, it becomes our duty to maintain this provision of the Constitution against all attempts to violate, for the purpose of establishing slavery in any territory of the United States, by positive legislation, prohibiting its existence or extension therein. That we deny the authority of Congress, or of a Territorial Legislature, of any individual or

association of individuals, to give legal existence to slavery in any Territory of the United States, while the present Constitution shall be maintained.

Resolved, That the Constitution confers upon Congress sovereign power over the Territories of the United States for their government, and that in the exercise of this power it is both the right and the duty of Congress to prohibit in the Territories those twin relics of barbarism—polygamy and slavery.

Resolved, That while the Constitution of the United States was ordained and established by the people in order to form a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquility, provide for the common defense, and secure the blessings of liberty, and contains ample provisions for the protection of the life, liberty, and property of every citizen, the dearest constitutional rights of the people of Kansas have been fraudulently and violently taken from them; their territory has been invaded by an armed force; spurious and pretended legislative, judicial, and executive officers have been set over them, by whose usurped authority sustained by the military power of the Government, tyrannical and unconstitutional laws have been enacted and enforced; the rights of the people to keep and bear arms have been infringed; test oaths of an extraordinary and entangling nature have been imposed as a condition of exercising the right of suffrage and holding office; the right of an accused person to a speedy and public trial by an impartial jury has been denied; the right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers, and effects against unreasonable searches and seizures has been violated; they have been deprived of life, liberty, and property without due process of law; that the freedom of speech and of the press has been abridged; the right to choose their representatives has been made of no effect; murders, robberies, and arsons have been instigated and encouraged, and the offenders have been allowed to go unpunished;—that all of these things have been done with the knowledge, sanction, and procurement of the present administration, and that for this high crime against the Constitution, the Union, and humanity, we arraign the administration, the President, his advisers, agents, supporters, apologists, and accessories, either before or after the facts, before the country and before the world, and that it is our fixed purpose to bring the actual perpetrators of these atrocious outrages and their accomplices to a sure and condign punishment hereafter.

Resolved, That Kansas should be immediately admitted as a State of the Union, with her present free Constitution, as at once the most effectual way of securing to her citizens the enjoyment of the rights and privileges to which they are entitled, and of ending the civil strife now raging in her territory.

Resolved, That the highwayman's plea, that "might makes right," embodied in the Ostend circular, was in every respect unworthy of American diplomacy, and would bring shame and dishonor upon any government or people that gave it their sanction.

Resolved, That a railroad to the Pacific Ocean, by the most central and practicable route, is imperatively demanded by the interests of the whole country, and that the Federal Government ought to render immediate and efficient aid in its construction, and, as an auxiliary thereto, the immediate construction of an emigrant route on the line of the railroad.

Resolved, That appropriations by Congress for the improvement of rivers and harbors, of a national character, required for the accommodation and security of our existing commerce, are authorized by the Constitution, and justified by the obligation of Government to protect the lives and property of its citizens.

SECOND REPUBLICAN NATIONAL PLATFORM.

ADOPTED AT CHICAGO, MAY 17TH, 1860.

Resolved, That we, the delegated representatives of the Republican electors of the United States, in convention assembled, in discharge of the duty we owe to our constituents and our country, unite in the following declarations:

1. That the history of the nation during the last four years has fully established the propriety and necessity of the organization and perpetuation of the Republican party, and that the causes which called it into existence are permanent in their nature, and now, more than ever before, demand its peaceful and constitutional triumph.

2. That the maintenance of the principles promulgated in the Declaration of Independence and embodied in the Federal Constitution, "that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; that to secure these rights governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed,"

is essential to the preservation of our republican institutions; and that the Federal Constitution, the rights of the States, and the union of the States must and shall be preserved.

3. That to the union of the States this nation owes its unprecedented increase in population, its surprising development of material resources, its rapid augmentation of wealth, its happiness at home, and its honor abroad; and we hold in abhorrence all schemes for disunion, come from whatever source they may; and we congratulate the country that no Republican member of Congress has uttered or countenanced the threats of disunion so often made by Democratic members without rebuke and with applause from their political associates; and we denounce those threats of disunion in case of a popular overthrow of their ascendancy as denying the vital principles of a free government, and as an avowal of contemplated treason which it is the imperative duty of an indignant people sternly to rebuke and forever silence.

4. That the maintenance inviolate of the rights of the States, and especially the rights of each State to order and control its own domestic institutions according to its own judgment exclusively, is essential to that balance of powers on which the perfection and endurance of our political fabric depends; and we denounce the lawless invasion by armed force of the soil of any State or Territory, no matter under what pretext, as among the gravest of crimes.

5. That the present Democratic administration has far exceeded our worst apprehensions, in its measureless subserviency to the exactions of a sectional interest, as especially evinced in its desperate exertions to force the infamous Lecompton Constitution upon the protesting people of Kansas; in construing the personal relation between master and servant to involve an unqualified property in persons; in its attempted enforcement, everywhere, on land and sea, through the intervention of Congress and of the Federal courts, and of the extreme pretensions of a purely local interest; and in its general and unvarying abuse of the power intrusted to it by a confiding people.

6. That the people justly view with alarm the reckless extravagance which pervades every department of the Federal Government; that a return to rigid economy and accountability is indispensable to arrest the systematic plunder of the public treasure by favored partisans; while the recent startling developments of fraud and corruption at the Federal metropolis

show that an entire change of administration is imperatively demanded.

7. That the new dogma that the Constitution of its own force carries slavery into any or all of the Territories of the United States is a dangerous political heresy, at variance with the explicit provisions of that instrument itself, with contemporaneous exposition, and with legislative and judicial precedent; is revolutionary in its tendency, and subversive of the peace and harmony of the country.

8. That the normal condition of all of the territory of the United States is that of freedom; that as our republican fathers, when they had abolished slavery in all of our national territory, ordained that "no person should be deprived of life, liberty, or property without due process of law," it becomes our duty, by legislation, whenever such legislation is necessary, to maintain this provision of the Constitution against all attempts to violate it; and we deny the authority of Congress, of a Territorial Legislature, or of any individuals, to give legal existence to slavery in any Territory of the United States.

9. That we brand the recent reopening of the African slave trade, under the cover of our national flag, aided by perversions of judicial power, as a crime against humanity and a burning shame to our country and age; and we call upon Congress to take prompt and efficient measures for the total and final suppression of that execrable traffic.

10. That in the recent vetoes, by their Federal Governors, of the acts of the Legislatures of Kansas and Nebraska prohibiting slavery in those Territories, we find a practical illustration of the boasted Democratic principle of non-intervention and popular sovereignty embodied in the Kansas-Nebraska bill, and a demonstration of the deception and fraud involved therein.

11. That Kansas should, of right, be immediately admitted as a State under the constitution recently formed and adopted by her people, and accepted by the House of Representatives.

12. That, while providing revenue for the support of the General Government by duties upon imports, sound policy requires such an adjustment of these imports as to encourage the development of the industrial interests of the whole country; and we commend that policy of national exchanges which secures to the workingmen liberal wages, to agriculture remunerating prices, to machanics and manufacturers an adequate reward for their skill, labor, and enterprise, and to the nation commercial prosperity and independence.

13. That we protest against any sale or alienation to others of the public lands held by actual settlers, and against any view of the free homestead policy which regards the settlers as paupers or suppliants for public bounty; and we demand the passage by Congress of the complete and satisfactory homestead measure which has already passed the House.

14. That the Republican party is opposed to any change in our naturalization laws, of any State legislation by which the rights of citizenship hitherto accorded to immigrants from foreign lands shall be abridged or impaired, and in favor of giving a full and efficient protection to the rights of all classes of citizens, whether native or naturalized, both at home and abroad.

15. That appropriations by Congress for river and harbor improvements of a national character required for the accommodation and security of an existing commerce, are authorized by the Constitution, and justified by the obligation of Government to protect the lives and property of its citizens.

16. That a railroad to the Pacific Ocean is imperatively demanded by the interests of the whole country; that the Federal Government ought to render immediate and efficient aid in its construction; and that as preliminary thereto a daily overland mail should be promptly established.

17. Finally, having thus set forth our distinctive principles and views, we invite the co-operation of all citizens, however differing on other questions, who substantially agree with us in their affirmance and support.

THIRD REPUBLICAN NATIONAL PLATFORM.

ADOPTED AT BALTIMORE, JUNE 7TH, 1864.

Resolved, That it is the highest duty of every American citizen to maintain against all their enemies the integrity of the Union and the paramount authority of the Constitution and laws of the United States; and that, laying aside all differences of political opinion, we pledge ourselves as Union men, animated by a common sentiment, and aiming at a common object, to do everything in our power to aid the Government in quelling by force of arms the rebellion now raging against its authority, and in bringing to the punishment due to their crimes the rebels and traitors arrayed against it.

Resolved, That we approve the determination of the Govern-

ment of the United States not to compromise with rebels, nor to offer any terms of peace except such as may be based upon an "unconditional surrender" of their hostility and a return to their just allegiance to the Constitution and laws of the United States, and that we call upon the Government to maintain this position and to prosecute the war with the utmost possible vigor to the complete suppression of the rebellion, the patriotism, the heroic valor, and the undying devotion of the American people to their country and its free institutions.

Resolved, That, as slavery was the cause, and now constitutes the strength, of this rebellion, and as it must be always and everywhere hostile to the principles of republican government, justice and the national safety demand its utter and complete extirpation from the soil of the Republic, and that we uphold and maintain the acts and proclamations by which the Government, in its own defense, has aimed a death-blow at this gigantic evil. We are in favor, furthermore, of such an amendment to the Constitution, to be made by the people in conformity with its provisions, as shall terminate and forever prohibit the existence of slavery within the limits of the jurisdiction of the United States.

Resolved, That the thanks of the American people are due to the soldiers and sailors of the army and navy, who have perilled their lives in defense of their country, and in vindication of the honor of the flag; that the nation owes to them some permanent recognition of their patriotism and valor, and ample and permanent provision for those of their survivors who have received disabling and honorable wounds in the service of the country; and that the memories of those who have fallen in its defense shall be held in grateful and everlasting remembrance.

Resolved, That we approve and applaud the practical wisdom, the unselfish patriotism and unswerving fidelity to the Constitution and the principles of American liberty, with which Abraham Lincoln has discharged, under circumstances of unparalleled difficulty, the great duties and responsibilities of the Presidential office; that we approve and indorse, as demanded by the emergency and essential to the preservation to the nation, and as within the Constitution, the measures and acts which he has adopted to defend the nation against its open and secret foes; that we approve especially the proclamation of emancipation, and the employment as Union soldiers of men heretofore held in slavery; and that we have full confidence in his

determination to carry these and all other constitutional measures essential to the salvation of the country into full and complete effect.

Resolved, That we deem it essential to the general welfare that harmony should prevail in the national councils, and we regard as worthy of public confidence and official trust those only who cordially indorse the principles proclaimed in these resolutions, and which should characterize the administration of the Government.

Resolved, That the Government owes to all men employed in its armies, without regard to distinction of color, the full protection of the laws of war, and that any violation of these laws of the usages of civilized nations in the time of war by the rebels now in arms, should be made the subject of full and prompt redress.

Resolved, That the foreign immigration, which in the past has added so much to the wealth and development of resources and increase of power to this nation, the asylum of the oppressed of all nations, should be fostered and encouraged by a liberal and just policy.

Resolved, That we are in favor of the speedy construction of a railroad to the Pacific.

Resolved, That the national faith, pledged for the redemption of the public debt, must be kept inviolate; and that for this purpose we recommend economy and rigid responsibility in the public expenditures, and a vigorous and a just system of taxation; and it is the duty of every loyal State to sustain the credit and promote the use of the national currency.

Resolved, That we approve the position taken by the Government that the people of the United States never regarded with indifference the attempt of any European power to overthrow by force, or to supplant by fraud, the institutions of any republican government on the Western Continent, and that they view with extreme jealousy, as menacing to the peace and independence of this our country, the efforts of any such power to obtain new footholds for monarchical governments, sustained by a foreign military force, in near proximity to the United States.

FOURTH REPUBLICAN NATIONAL PLATFORM.

ADOPTED AT CHICAGO, MAY 21ST, 1868.

THE National Republican Party of the United States, assembled in National Convention in the city of Chicago, on the 21st

day of May, 1868, make the following declaration of principles:

1. We congratulate the country on the assured success of the reconstruction policy of Congress, as evidenced by the adoption, in the majority of the States lately in rebellion, of constitutions securing equal civil and political rights to all; and it is the duty of the Government to sustain those constitutions and to prevent the people of such States from being remitted to a state of anarchy.

2. The guarantee by Congress of equal suffrage to all loyal men at the South was demanded by every consideration of public safety, of gratitude, and of justice, and must be maintained; while the question of suffrage in all of the loyal States properly belongs to the people of those States.

3. We denounce all forms of repudiation as a national crime; and the national honor requires the payment of the public indebtedness in the uttermost good faith to all creditors at home and abroad, not only according to the letter but the spirit of the laws under which it was contracted.

4. It is due to the labor of the nation that taxation should be equalized and reduced as rapidly as the national faith will permit.

5. The national debt, contracted as it has been for the preservation of the Union for all time to come, should be extended over a fair period of redemption; and it is the duty of Congress to reduce the rate of interest thereon whenever it can be honestly done.

6. That the best policy to diminish our burden of debt is to so improve our credit that capitalists will seek to loan us money at lower rates of interest than we now pay and must continue to pay so long as repudiation, partial or total, open or covert, is threatened or suspected.

7. The Government of the United States should be administered with the strictest economy; and the corruptions which have been so shamefully nursed and fostered by Andrew Johnson call loudly for radical reform.

8. We profoundly deplore the untimely and tragic death of Abraham Lincoln, and regret the accession to the Presidency of Andrew Johnson, who has acted treacherously to the people who elected him and the cause he was pledged to support; who has usurped high legislative and judicial functions; who has refused to execute the laws; who has used his high office to induce other officers to ignore and violate the laws; who has employed his executive powers to render insecure the

property, the peace, liberty, and life of the citizen; who has abused the pardoning power; who has denounced the national legislature as unconstitutional; who has persistently and corruptly resisted, by every means in his power, every proper attempt at the reconstruction of the States lately in rebellion; who has perverted the public patronage into an engine of wholesale corruption; and who has been justly impeached for high crimes and misdemeanors, and properly denounced guilty thereof by the vote of thirty-five Senators.

9. The doctrine of Great Britain and other European powers, that because a man is once a subject he is always so, must be resisted at every hazard by the United States, as a relic of feudal times not authorized by the laws of nations, and at war with our national honor and independence. Naturalized citizens are entitled to protection in all of their rights of citizenship, as though they were native born; and no citizen of the United States, native or naturalized, must be liable to arrest and imprisonment by any foreign power for acts done or words spoken in this country; and, if so arrested and imprisoned, it is the duty of the Government to interfere in his behalf.

10. Of all who were faithful in the trials of the late war, there were none entitled to more especial honor than the brave soldiers and seamen who endured the hardships of campaign and cruise, and imperilled their lives in the service of the country; the bounties and pensions provided by the laws for these brave defenders of the nation are obligations never to be forgotten; the widows and orphans of the gallant dead are the wards of the people—a sacred legacy bequeathed to the nation's protecting care.

11. Foreign immigration, which in the past has added so much to the wealth, development, and resources, and increase of power to this Republic, the asylum of the oppressed of all nations, should be fostered and encouraged by a liberal and just policy.

12. This convention declares itself in sympathy with all oppressed peoples struggling for their rights.

13. That we highly commend the spirit of magnanimity and forbearance with which men who have served in the Rebellion, but who now frankly and honestly co-operate with us in restoring the peace of the country and reconstructing the Southern State governments upon the basis of impartial justice and equal rights, are received back into the communion of the loyal people; and we favor the removal of the disqualifications and

restrictions imposed upon the late rebels in the same measure as the spirit of disloyalty will die out, and as may be consistent with the safety of the loyal people.

14. That we recognize the great principles laid down in the immortal Declaration of Independence as the true foundation of democratic government, and we hail with gladness every effort toward making these principles a living reality on every inch of American soil.

FIFTH REPUBLICAN NATIONAL PLATFORM.

ADOPTED AT PHILADELPHIA, JUNE 6TH, 1872.

THE Republican Party of the United States, assembled in National Convention in the City of Philadelphia, on the 5th and 6th days of June, 1872, again declares its faith, appeals to its history, and announces its position upon the questions before the country:

1. During eleven years of supremacy it has accepted with grand courage the solemn duties of the time. It suppressed a gigantic rebellion, emancipated four millions of slaves, decreed the equal citizenship of all, and established universal suffrage. Exhibiting unparalleled magnanimity, it criminally punished no man for political offenses, and warmly welcomed all who proved loyalty by obeying the laws and dealing justly with their neighbors. It has steadily decreased with firm hand the resultant disorders of a great war, and initiated a wise and humane policy toward the Indians. The Pacific Railroad and similar vast enterprises have been generously aided and successfully conducted, the public lands freely given to actual settlers, immigration protected and encouraged, and a full acknowledgment of the naturalized citizen's rights secured from European powers. A uniform national currency has been provided, repudiation frowned down, the national credit sustained under the most extraordinary burdens, and new bonds negotiated at low rates. The revenues have been carefully collected and honestly applied. Despite annual large reductions of the rates of taxation, the public debt has been reduced during General Grant's Presidency at the rate of a hundred millions a year, great financial crises have been avoided, and peace and plenty prevail throughout the land. Menacing foreign difficulties have been peacefully and honorably composed, and the honor and power of the nation kept in high respect throughout the world. This

glorious record of the past is the party's best pledge for the future. We believe the people will not intrust the government to any party or combination of men composed chiefly of those who have resisted every step of this beneficent progress.

2. The recent amendments to the National Constitution should be cordially sustained because they are right, not merely tolerated because they are law, and should be carried out according to their spirit by appropriate legislation, the enforcement of which can safely be intrusted only to the party that secured those amendments.

3. Complete liberty and exact equality in the enjoyment of all civil, political, and public rights should be established and effectually maintained throughout the Union by efficient and appropriate State and Federal legislation. Neither the law nor its administration should admit any discrimination in respect of citizens by reason of race, creed, color, or previous condition of servitude.

4. The National Government should seek to maintain honorable peace with all nations, protecting its citizens everywhere, and sympathizing with all peoples who strive for greater liberty.

5. Any system of the civil service under which the positions of the Government are considered rewards for mere party zeal is fatally demoralizing, and we therefore favor a reform of the system by laws which shall abolish the evils of patronage and make honesty, efficiency, and fidelity, the essential qualifications for public positions, without practically creating a life tenure of office.

6. We are opposed to further grants of public lands to corporations and monopolies, and demand that the national domain be set apart for free homes for the people.

7. The annual revenue, after paying current expenditures, pensions, and the interest on the public debt, should furnish a moderate balance for the reduction of the principal, and that revenue, except so much as may be derived from a tax upon tobacco and liquors, should be raised by duties upon importations, the details of which should be so adjusted as to aid in securing remunerative wages to labor, and promote the industries, prosperity, and growth of the whole country.

8. We hold in undying honor the soldiers and sailors whose valor saved the Union. Their pensions are a sacred debt of the nation, and the widows and orphans of those who died for

their country are entitled to the care of a generous and grateful people. We favor such additional legislation as will extend the bounty of the Government to all of our soldiers and sailors who were honorably discharged, and who in the line of duty became disabled, without regard to the length of service or the cause of such discharge.

9. The doctrine of Great Britain and other European powers concerning allegiance—"once a subject always a subject"—having at last, through efforts of the Republican party, been abandoned, and the American idea of the individual's right to transfer allegiance having been accepted by European nations, it is the duty of our Government to guard with jealous care the right of adopted citizens against the assumption of unauthorized claims by their former governments, and we urge continued, careful encouragement and protection of voluntary immigration.

10. The franking privilege ought to be abolished, and the way prepared for a speedy reduction in the rates of postage.

11. Among the questions which press for attention is that which concerns the relations of capital and labor, and the Republican party recognizes the duty of so shaping legislation as to secure full protection and the amplest field for capital, and for labor, the creator of capital, the largest opportunities, and a just share of the mutual profits of these two great servants of civilization.

12. We hold that Congress and the President have only fulfilled an imperative duty in their measures for the suppression of violent and treasonable organizations in certain lately rebellious regions, and for the protection of the ballot-box; and, therefore, they are entitled to the thanks of the nation.

13. We denounce repudiation of the public debt, in any form or disguise, as a national crime. We witness with pride the reduction of the principal of the debt, and of the rates of interest upon the balance, and confidently expect that our excellent national currency will be perfected by a speedy resumption of specie payment.

14. The Republican party is mindful of its obligations to the loyal women of America for their noble devotion to the cause of freedom. Their admission to the wider fields of usefulness is viewed with satisfaction; and the honest demand of any class of citizens for additional rights should be treated with respectful consideration.

15. We heartily approve the action of Congress in extending

amnesty to those lately in rebellion, and rejoice in the growth of peace and fraternal feeling throughout the land.

16. The Republican party proposes to respect the rights reserved by the people to themselves as the powers delegated by them to the State and to the Federal Government. It disapproves of the resort to unconstitutional laws for the purpose of removing evils, by interference with rights not surrendered by the people to either the State or National Government.

17. It is the duty of the General Government to adopt such measures as may tend to encourage and restore American commerce and ship-building.

18. We believe that the modest patriotism, the earnest purpose, the sound judgment, the practical wisdom, the incorruptible integrity, and the illustrious services of Ulysses S. Grant have commended him to the heart of the American people, and with him at our head we start to-day upon a new march to victory.

19. Henry Wilson, nominated for the Vice-Presidency, known to the whole land from the early days of the great struggle for liberty as an indefatigable laborer in all campaigns, an incorruptible legislator and representative man of American institutions, is worthy to associate with our great leader and share the honors which we pledge our best efforts to bestow upon them.

SIXTH REPUBLICAN NATIONAL PLATFORM.

ADOPTED AT CINCINNATI, JUNE 15TH, 1876.

WHEN, in the economy of Providence, this land was to be purged of human slavery, and when the strength of government of the people, by the people, and for the people was to be demonstrated, the Republican party came into power. Its deeds have passed into history, and we look back to them with pride. Incited by their memories to high aims for the good of our country and mankind, and looking to the future with unfaltering courage, hope, and purpose, we, the representatives of the party in National Convention assembled make the following declaration of principles:

1. The United States of America is a nation, not a league. By the combined workings of the National and State Governments, under their respective constitutions, the rights of every citizen are secured, at home and abroad, and the common welfare promoted,

2. The Republican party has preserved these governments to the hundredth anniversary of the nation's birth, and they are now embodiments of the great truths spoken at its cradle—"that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, among which are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; that for the attainment of these ends governments have been instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed." Until these truths are cheerfully obeyed, or if need be vigorously enforced, the work of the Republican party is unfinished.

3. The permanent pacification of the southern section of the Union and the complete protection of all of its citizens in the free enjoyment of all of their rights is a duty to which the Republican party stands sacredly pledged. The power to provide for the enforcement of the principles embodied in the recent constitutional amendments is vested by those amendments in the Congress of the United States, and we declare it to be the solemn obligation of the legislative and executive departments of the Government to put into immediate and vigorous exercise all their constitutional powers for removing any just causes of discontent on the part of any class, and for securing to every American citizen complete liberty and exact equality in the exercise of all civil, political, and public rights. To this end we imperatively demand a Congress and a Chief Executive whose courage and fidelity to those duties shall not falter until these results are placed beyond dispute or recall.

4. In the first act of Congress signed by President Grant, the National Government assumed to remove any doubts of its purpose to discharge all just obligations to the public creditors, and "solemnly pledged its faith to make provision at the earliest practicable period for the redemption of the United States notes in coin." Commercial prosperity, public morals, and national credit demand that this promise be fulfilled by a continuous and steady progress to specie payment.

5. Under the Constitution the President and heads of departments are to make nominations for office; the Senate is to advise and consent to appointments, and the House of Representatives is to accuse and prosecute faithless officers. The best interest of the public service demands that these distinctions be respected; that Senators and Representatives who may be judges and accusers should not dictate appointments to office. The invariable rule in appointments should have reference to

the honesty, fidelity, and capacity of the appointees, giving to the party in power those places where harmony and vigor of administration require its policy to be represented, but permitting all others to be filled by persons selected with sole reference to efficiency of the public service, and the right of all citizens to share in the honor of rendering faithful service to the country.

6. We rejoice in the quickened conscience of the people concerning political affairs, and will hold all public officers to a rigid responsibility, and engage that the prosecution and punishment of all who betray official trusts shall be swift, thorough, and unspairing.

7. The public school system of the several States is the bulwark of the American Republic, and with a view to its security and permanence we recommend an amendment to the Constitution of the United States forbidding the application of any public funds or property for the benefit of any schools or institutions under sectarian control.

8. The revenue necessary for current expenditures and the obligations of the public debt must be largely derived from duties upon importations, which, so far as possible, should be adjusted to promote the interests of American labor and advance the prosperity of the whole country.

9. We reaffirm our opposition to further grants of the public lands to corporations and monopolies, and demand that the national domain be devoted to free homes for the people.

10. It is the imperative duty of the Government so to modify existing treaties with European Governments that the same protection shall be afforded to the adopted American citizen that is given to the native born; and that all necessary laws should be passed to protect emigrants in the absence of power in the States for that purpose.

11. It is the immediate duty of Congress to fully investigate the effect of the immigration and importation of Mongolians upon the moral and material interests of the country.

12. The Republican party recognizes with approval the substantial advances recently made toward the establishment of equal rights for women by the many important amendments effected by Republican legislatures in the laws which concern the personal and property relations of wives, mothers, and widows, and by the appointment and election of women to the superintendence of education, charities, and other public trusts. The honest demands of this class of citizens for addi-

tional rights, privileges, and immunities should be treated with respectful consideration.

13. The Constitution confers upon Congress sovereign power over the Territories of the United States for their government, and in the exercise of this power it is the right and duty of Congress to prohibit and extirpate, in the Territories, that relic of barbarism—polygamy; and we demand such legislation as shall secure this end and the supremacy of American institutions in all of the Territories.

14. The pledges which the nation has given to her soldiers and sailors must be fulfilled, and a grateful people will always hold those who imperilled their lives for the country's preservation in the kindest remembrance.

15. We sincerely deprecate all sectional feeling and tendencies. We therefore note with deep solicitude that the Democratic party counts, as its chief hope of success, upon the electoral vote of a united South, secured through the efforts of those who were recently arrayed against the nation, and we invoke the earnest attention of the country to the grave truth that a success thus achieved would reopen sectional strife and imperil national honor and human rights.

16. We charge the Democratic party with being the same in character and spirit as when it sympathized with treason; with making its control of the House of Representatives the triumph and opportunity of the nation's recent foes; with reasserting and applauding in the National Capitol the sentiments of unrepentant rebellion; with sending Union soldiers to the rear, and promoting Confederate soldiers to the front; with deliberately proposing to repudiate the plighted faith of the Government; with being equally false and imbecile upon the overshadowing financial questions; with thwarting the ends of justice by its partisan mismanagement and obstruction of investigation; with proving itself, through the period of its ascendancy in the lower House of Congress, utterly incompetent to administer the Government; and we warn the country against trusting a party thus alike unworthy, recreant, and incapable.

17. The national administration merits commendation for its honorable work in the management of domestic and foreign affairs, and President Grant deserves the continued hearty gratitude of the American people for his patriotism and his eminent services, in war and in peace.

Upon the reading of the resolutions, Edward L. Pierce, of

Massachusetts, moved to strike out the eleventh resolution; which, after debate, was disagreed to—yeas 215, nays 532.

Edmund J. Davis moved to strike out the fourth resolution and substitute for it the following:

Resolved, That it is the duty of Congress to provide for carrying out the act known as the Resumption Act of Congress, to the end that the resumption of specie payments may not be longer delayed. Which, after a brief debate, was disagreed to on a *viva voce* vote.

The candidates were: Rutherford B. Hayes, of Ohio, for President; William A. Wheeler, of New York, for Vice-President.

SEVENTH REPUBLICAN NATIONAL PLATFORM.

ADOPTED AT CHICAGO, JUNE 5TH, 1880.

THE Republican Party, in National Convention assembled, at the end of twenty years since the Federal Government was first committed to its charge, submits to the people of the United States this brief report of its administration: It suppressed a rebellion which had armed nearly a million of men to subvert the national authority. It reconstructed the Union of the States, with freedom instead of slavery as its corner-stone. It transformed 4,000,000 human beings from the likeness of things to the rank of citizens. It relieved Congress from the infamous work of hunting fugitive slaves, and charged it to see that slavery does not exist. It has raised the value of our paper currency from thirty-eight per cent. to the par value of gold. It has restored upon a solid basis, payment in coin for all the national obligations, and has given us a currency absolutely good and equal in every part of our extended country. It has lifted the credit of the nation from the point where six per cent. bonds sold at eighty-six to that where four per cent. bonds are eagerly sought at a premium. Under its administration railways have increased from thirty-one thousand miles in 1860 to more than eighty thousand miles in 1879. Our foreign trade has increased from seven hundred millions to eleven hundred and fifty millions in the same time; and our exports, which were twenty millions less than our imports in 1860, were \$264,000,000 more than our imports in 1879. Without resorting to loans it has, since the war closed, defrayed the ordinary expenses of government besides the accruing interest on the public debt, and disbursed annually more than \$30,000,000

for soldiers' pensions. It has paid \$888,000,000 of the public debt, and, by refunding the balance at a lower rate, has reduced the annual interest charge from nearly \$151,000,000 to less than \$89,000,000. All the industries of the country have revived, labor is in demand, wages have increased, and throughout the entire country there is evidence of a coming prosperity greater than we have ever enjoyed. Upon this record the Republican party asks for the continued confidence and support of the people, and this convention submits for their approval the following statement of the principles and purposes which will continue to guide and inspire its efforts:

1. We affirm that the work of the last twenty-one years has been such as to commend itself to the favor of the nation, and that the fruits of costly victories which we have achieved through immense difficulties should be preserved; that the peace so gained should be cherished; that the dissevered Union, now happily restored, should be perpetuated, and that the liberties secured to this generation should be transmitted undiminished to future generations; that the order established and the credit acquired should never be impaired; that the pension promises should be paid; that the debt so much reduced should be extinguished by the full payment of every dollar thereof; that the reviving industries should be further promoted, and that the commerce, already so great, should be steadily encouraged.

2. The Constitution of the United States is a supreme law, and not a mere contract. Out of confederated States it made a sovereign nation. Some powers are denied the nation, while others are denied the States. But the boundary between powers delegated and those reserved is to be determined by the National and not the State tribunals.

3. The work of popular education is one left to the care of the several States, but it is the duty of the National Government to aid that work to the extent of its constitutional ability. The intelligence of the nation is but the aggregate intelligence of the several States, and the destiny of the nation must be guided, not by the genius of any one State, but by the average genius of all.

4. The Constitution wisely forbids Congress to make any law respecting an establishment of religion, but it is idle to hope that the nation can be protected against influence of sectarianism while each State is exposed to its domination. We therefore recommend that the Constitution be so amended as to

lay the same prohibition on the Legislature of each State, and to forbid the appropriation of public funds to the support of sectarian schools.

5. We reaffirm the belief avowed in 1876 that the duties levied for the purpose of revenue should so discriminate as to favor American labor; that no further grant of the public domain should be made to any railroad or other corporation; that slavery having perished in the States, its twin barbarity, polygamy, must die in the Territories; that everywhere the protection accorded to a citizen of American birth must be secured to citizens of American adoption; that we esteem it the duty of Congress to develop and improve our water-courses and harbors, but insist that further subsidies to private persons or corporations must cease; that the obligations of the Republic to the men who preserved its integrity in the day of battle are undiminished by the lapse of fifteen years since their final victory, and their perpetual honor is and shall forever be the grateful privilege and sacred duty of the American people.

6. Since the authority for regular immigration and intercourse between the United States and foreign nations rests with the Congress of the United States and its treaty-making powers, the Republican party, regarding the unrestricted immigration of the Chinese as an evil of great magnitude, invoke the exercise of that power to restrain and limit that immigration by the enactment of such just, humane, and reasonable provisions as will produce that result.

7. That the purity and patriotism which characterized the earlier career of R. B. Hayes, in peace and war, and which guided the thought of our immediate predecessors to him for a Presidential candidate, have continued to inspire him in his career as Chief Executive, and that history will accord to his administration the honors which are due to an efficient, just, and courteous discharge of the public business, and will honor his interpositions between the people and proposed partisan laws.

8. We charge upon the Democratic party the habitual sacrifice of patriotism and justice to a supreme and insatiable lust of office and patronage; that to obtain possession of the National Government and State Governments, and the control of place, they have obstructed all efforts to promote the purity and to conserve the freedom of suffrage; have labored to unseat lawfully elected members of Congress to secure at all hazards the majority of the States in the House of Representatives; have endeavored to occupy by force and fraud the places of trust

given to others by the people of Maine, and rescued by the courage and action of Maine's patriotic sons; have, by methods vicious in principle and tyrannical in practice, attached partisan legislation to appropriations, upon whose passage the very movements of the Government depend; have crushed the rights of the individual, have advocated the principles and sought the favor of rebellion against the nation, and have endeavored to obliterate the sacred memories of the war and to overcome its inestimably good results of nationality, personal freedom, and individual equality. The equal, steady, and complete enforcement of the laws and the protection of all our citizens in the enjoyment of all privileges and immunities guaranteed by the Constitution, is the first duty of the nation. The dangers of a solid South can only be averted by a faithful performance of every promise which the nation has made to its citizens. The execution of the laws and the punishment of all those who violate them are the only safe methods by which an enduring peace can be secured, and genuine prosperity established throughout the South. Whatever promises the nation makes the nation must perform, and the nation cannot with safety relegate this duty to the States. The solid South must be divided by the peaceful agencies of the ballot, and all opinions must there find free expression; and to this end the honest voter must be protected against terrorism, violence, or fraud. And we affirm it to be the duty and purpose of the Republican party to use all legitimate means to restore all States of this Union to the most perfect harmony which may be possible. And we submit to the practical, sensible people of the United States to say whether it would not be dangerous to the dearest interests of our country at this time to surrender the administration of the National Government to a party which seeks to overthrow the existing policy, under which we are so prosperous, and thus bring distrust and confusion where there is now order, confidence, and hope.

The Republican party, adhering to the principle affirmed by its last National Convention, of respect for the constitutional rules governing appointments to office, adopts the declaration of President Hayes, that the reform of the civil service should be thorough, radical, and complete. To this end it demands the co-operation of the legislative with the executive department of the Government, and that Congress shall so legislate that fitness, ascertained by proper practical tests, shall admit to the public service.

EIGHTH REPUBLICAN NATIONAL PLATFORM.

ADOPTED AT CHICAGO, JUNE 5TH, 1884.

THE Republicans of the United States in National Convention assembled renew their allegiance to the principles upon which they have triumphed in six successive Presidential elections, and congratulate the American people on the attainment of so many results in legislation and administration by which the Republican party has, after saving the Union, done so much to render its institutions just, equal and beneficent—the safeguard of liberty and the embodiment of the best thought and highest purposes of our citizens. The Republican party has gained its strength by quick and faithful response to the demands of the people for the freedom and the equality of all men; for a united nation, assuring the rights of all citizens; for the elevation of labor; for an honest currency; for purity in legislation, and for integrity and accountability in all departments of the Government; and it accepts anew the duty of leading in the work of progress and reform.

We lament the death of President Garfield, whose sound statesmanship, long conspicuous in Congress, gave promise of a strong and successful administration, a promise fully realized during the short period of his office as President of the United States. His distinguished success in war and in peace has endeared him to the hearts of the American people.

In the administration of President Arthur we recognize a wise, conservative, and patriotic policy, under which the country has been blessed with remarkable prosperity, and we believe his eminent services are entitled to and will receive the hearty approval of every citizen.

It is the first duty of a good Government to protect the rights and promote the interests of its own people. The largest diversity of industry is most productive of general prosperity and of the comfort and independence of the people. We therefore demand that the imposition of duties on foreign imports shall be made, not for revenue only, but that in raising the requisite revenues for the Government such duties shall be so levied as to afford security to our diversified industries and protection to the rights and wages of the laborer, to the end that active and intelligent labor, as well as capital, may have its just reward, and the laboring man his full share in the national prosperity.

Against the so-called economic system of the Democratic party which would degrade our labor to the foreign standard, we enter our earnest protest. The Democratic party has failed completely to relieve the people of the burden of unnecessary taxation by a wise reduction of the surplus.

The Republican party pledges itself to correct the inequalities of the tariff, and to reduce the surplus, not by the vicious and indiscriminate process of horizontal reduction, but by such methods as will relieve the taxpayer without injuring the laborer or the great productive interests of the country.

We recognize the importance of sheep husbandry in the United States, the serious depression which it is now experiencing and the danger threatening its future prosperity; and we therefore respect the demands of the representatives of this important agricultural interest for a readjustment of duty upon foreign wool, in order that such industry shall have full and adequate protection.

We have always recommended the best money known to the civilized world, and we urge that an effort be made to unite all commercial nations in the establishment of an international standard, which shall fix for all the relative value of gold and silver coinage.

The regulation of commerce with foreign nations and between the States is one of the most important prerogatives of the General Government, and the Republican party distinctly announces its purpose to support such legislation as will fully and efficiently carry out the constitutional power of Congress over inter-State commerce.

The principle of the public regulation of railway corporations is a wise and salutary one for the protection of all classes of the people, and we favor legislation that shall prevent unjust discrimination and excessive charges for transportation, and that shall secure to the people and to the railways alike the fair and equal protection of the laws.

We favor the establishment of a national bureau of labor, the enforcement of the eight-hour law, and a wise and judicious system of general education by adequate appropriation from the national revenues wherever the same is needed. We believe that everywhere the protection to a citizen of American birth must be secured to citizens of American adoption, and we favor the settlement of national differences by international arbitration.

The Republican party having its birth in a hatred of slave

labor, and in a desire that all men may be free and equal, is unalterably opposed to placing our workingmen in competition with any form of servile labor, whether at home or abroad. In this spirit we denounce the importation of contract labor, whether from Europe or Asia, as an offence against the spirit of American institutions, and we pledge ourselves to sustain the present law restricting Chinese immigration, and to provide such further legislation as is necessary to carry out its purposes.

The reform of the civil service, auspiciously begun under Republican administration, should be completed by the further extension of the reformed system, already established by law, to all the grades of the service to which it is applicable. The spirit and purpose of the reform should be observed in all executive appointments, and all laws at variance with the objects of existing reformed legislation should be repealed, to the end that the danger to free institutions which lurks in the power of official patronage may be wisely and effectively avoided.

The public lands are a heritage of the people of the United States, and should be reserved, as far as possible, for small holdings by actual settlers. We are opposed to the acquisition of large tracts of these lands by corporations or individuals, especially where such holdings are in the hands of non-resident aliens, and we will endeavor to obtain such legislation as will tend to correct this evil. We demand of Congress the speedy forfeiture of all land grants which have lapsed by reason of non-compliance with acts of incorporation, in all cases where there has been no attempt in good faith to perform the conditions of such grants.

The grateful thanks of the American people are due to the Union soldiers and sailors of the late war, and the Republican party stands pledged to suitable pensions for all who were disabled and for the widows and orphans of those who died in the war. The Republican party also pledges itself to the repeal of the limitation contained in the arrears act of 1879, so that all invalid soldiers shall share alike, and their pensions shall begin with the date of disability or discharge, and not with the date of their application.

The Republican party favors a policy which shall keep us from entangling alliances with foreign nations, and which shall give the right to expect that foreign nations shall refrain from meddling in American affairs—the policy which seeks

peace and can trade with all Powers, but especially with those of the Western Hemisphere.

We demand the restoration of our navy to its old time strength and efficiency, that it may, in any sea, protect the rights of American citizens and the interests of American commerce, and we call upon Congress to remove the burdens under which American shipping has been depressed, so that it may again be true that we have a commerce which leaves no sea unexplored and a navy which takes no law from superior force.

Resolved, That appointments by the President to offices in the Territories should be made from the *bona fide* citizens and residents of the Territories wherein they are to serve.

Resolved, That it is the duty of Congress to enact such laws as shall promptly and effectually suppress the system of polygamy within our territory, and divorce the political from the ecclesiastical power of the so-called Mormon Church, and that the law so enacted should be rigidly enforced by the civil authorities if possible, and by the military if need be.

The people of the United States, in their organized capacity, constitute a Nation and not a mere confederacy of States. The National Government is supreme within the sphere of its national duty, but the States have reserved rights which should be faithfully maintained; each should be guarded with jealous care so that the harmony of our system of government may be preserved and the Union be kept inviolate. The perpetuity of our institutions rests upon the maintenance of a free ballot, an honest count and correct returns.

We denounce the fraud and violence practised by the Democracy in Southern States by which the will of the voter is defeated, as dangerous to the preservation of free institutions, and we solemnly arraign the Democratic party as being the guilty recipient of the fruits of such fraud and violence. We extend to the Republicans of the South, regardless of their former party affiliations, our cordial sympathy, and pledge to them our utmost earnest efforts to promote the passage of such legislation as will secure to every citizen, of whatever race and color, the full and complete recognition, possession and exercise of all civil and political rights.

EARLY REPUBLICAN LEADERS.

BY CHARLES T. CONGDON.

THERE is abundant evidence that slavery in America was never germane to the sentiment and conscience of the American people. The plea sometimes adduced during the anti-slavery discussion, that the slaves were forced upon the colonies by the commercial cupidity of the mother country, was not without a modicum of truth. It is historically true that both Virginia and South Carolina, in the eighteenth century, sought to restrict the importation of slaves. Massachusetts and Pennsylvania pressed the adoption of similar measures, but in each instance the veto of the colonial governor was interposed. It must be understood that, notwithstanding slave labor was in many of the colonies found profitable, there was always sturdy protest against it. The constant testimony of the Quakers against it is of record. John Wesley had denounced it as the sum of all villainies; Whitefield had spoken to the planters of "the miseries of the poor negroes;" Dr. Hopkins, the eminent theologian, had fitly characterized the traffic in its very centre, and to the faces of the Newport merchants engaged in it. The Continental Congress in 1774 had pledged the United Colonies to discontinue altogether the slave trade. Several of the slave colonies themselves joined in the declaration against the trade. These facts are worth remembering, because they show that even at that time there was a strong and conscientious feeling against slavery and in favor of justice and humanity. The defence of slavery upon moral, theological, and political grounds came afterward. It is nearly a hundred years since the establishment of the Pennsylvania Society for Promoting the Abolition of Slavery, and Benjamin Franklin was made its president. There were other and similar societies in different States. The first anti-slavery national convention was held in 1795.

Perhaps the earliest abolitionist intimately connected with the anti-slavery agitation which culminated in such great results was Benjamin Lundy, a member of the society of

Friends, who, born in New Jersey in 1789, in 1815 had established an anti-slavery association called "The Union Humane Society," at St. Clairsville, Va. Lundy wrote, traveled, lectured, and everywhere maintained his crusade against the institution. In 1821 he started the *Genius of Universal Emancipation*, the office of which he removed to Baltimore in 1824. Having made the acquaintance of William Lloyd Garrison, he engaged the assistance of that gentleman in the editorial management of the newspaper. Lundy was the first to establish anti-slavery periodicals and deliver anti-slavery lectures. It is stated that from 1820 to 1830 Lundy traveled twenty-five thousand miles, five thousand on foot, visited nineteen States, made two voyages to Hayti, and delivered more than two hundred addresses.

The first number of Mr. Garrison's *Liberator* was published in Boston, in January, 1831. The history of the agitation which was then begun has already been partially written and is familiar to many still living. From this time forth to the bloody issue, and the final triumph of right and of justice, slavery began to be felt in the politics of the country. Undoubtedly a vast majority of both the Whig and Democratic parties were upon its side. Upon the other there were two classes. There was that which would keep no terms with slavery, but at all times and seasons yielded not one jot or tittle, but demanded its immediate abolition. There were others who took more moderate ground; who doubted the policy of instant abolition; who adhered to the parties with which they found themselves allied; but who nevertheless insisted upon the right of free discussion and the right of petition. The great champion of this right in the House of Representatives was John Quincy Adams. He had gone from the White House to the House of Representatives with no special feelings of kindness for the Southern States or for their political leaders. But he was always careful to declare that personally he was not in favor of the abolition of slavery in the District, while he deemed the right of petition "sacred and to be vindicated at all hazards." His position must not be misunderstood. Asserting energetically the right of the petitioners to be heard, he had no sympathy with their opinions. He did not regard the question of slavery in the District as of much consequence. He took no humanitarian ground. He fought the battle, and fought it nobly, but it was as a constitutional lawyer, and not as an abolitionist. He argued the matter as he argued the famous *Amistad* case, upon

strictly legal principles. Fortunately, they happened to be upon the right side, and Mr. Adams's services at this time were unquestionably of great value to the cause of freedom.

Among the few who took an entirely different ground, and who avowed their sympathy with the prayer of the petitioners, was William Slade, of Vermont, who was in the House from 1831 to 1843, and afterward Governor of Vermont. He said, with manly precision and courage, "The petitioners wish the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia; so do I. They wish to abolish the slave-trade in the District; so do I." But protest at such a time was vain, and the petitions were laid upon the table by a great majority. Agitation must at any cost be arrested. Tranquillity must by any expedient be secured. In the Senate at the same time a similar controversy was going on. Singularly enough, the champion of the right of petition here was Mr. James Buchanan, who spoke and voted for the reception of the petitions, though he also advocated the instant rejection of their prayer; and he actually succeeded, to the great indignation of Mr. Calhoun, in carrying his point. Mr. Morris, of Ohio, vindicated the right, and declared that "no denial of it by Congress could prevent them from expressing it." Similar ground was taken by Mr. Prentiss, of Vermont. Mr. Webster, not then so regardless of the popular opinion as he afterward became, advocated the reference of the petitions to the proper committees.

Among those who in those dark days of Northern suberviency nobly stood up for free speech and a free press, was Governor Joseph Ritner, of Pennsylvania, who in one of his messages said: "Above all, let us never yield up the right of free-discussion of any evil which may arise in the land, or any part of it." Thaddeus Stevens, then chairman of the Judiciary Committee of the Pennsylvania House, took ground equally brave and independent. The Southern Legislatures had asked of the Northern States the enactment of laws for the suppression of free discussion. "No State," said Mr. Stevens, "can claim from us such legislation. It would reduce us to a vassalage but little less degrading than that of the slaves." But in no State can the progress of this great controversy be more satisfactorily observed than in Massachusetts. There the abolitionists were most uncompromising and determined, and so respectable were they in numbers and character that those who were opposed to their opinions and proceedings were not long afterward glad enough to get their votes in seasons of particu-

lar emergency. But Massachusetts respectability, taking its tone from Boston, as the tone of Boston was governed by its commercial interests, was then ready for almost unconditional surrender, of all which it should have held most dear, to the slave power. Edward Everett was Governor of the State, and went so far as to suggest that anti-slavery discussion "might be prosecuted as a misdemeanor at common law." This part of Governor Everett's message was referred to a committee of which Mr. George Lunt was chairman. Before this committee appeared in their own defence such abolitionists as Ellis Gray Loring, William Lloyd Garrison, Dr. Charles Follen, Samuel J. May, and William Goodell. It is almost impossible now to conceive of the indignities as possible to which these gentlemen were subjected by the chairman, Mr. Lunt. Dr. Follen, one of the mildest and most amiable of men, was peremptorily silenced. "You are here," said Mr. Lunt to Mr. May, "to exculpate yourselves if you can"—as if the remonstrants had been criminals at the bar of public justice. Such treatment excited great indignation among those who were present merely as spectators. Dr. William Ellery Channing—the story is still related in Boston—walked across the room to offer Mr. Garrison his hand, and to speak to him words of sympathy and encouragement. From that day the progress of anti-slavery opinions in Massachusetts went on almost without cessation. They colored and affected the action of political parties; they broke up and scattered an organization which had held the State in fee for more than a generation; they proved themselves superior to all the reports and resolutions which such men as Mr. Lunt could bring forward; they won for their supporters all the distinction which place and popular confidence could confer, and reduced those who rejected them to the leanest of minorities. All things worked together for good. The murder of Lovejoy, at Alton in 1837, was a triumph of slavery which proved in the end one of the most fatal of its misfortunes. It sent Dr. Channing to Faneuil Hall to protest against such an outrage upon law and justice. It sent there Wendell Phillips to make his first speech, which rendered him at once famous. It created a public sympathy in Boston and throughout the State which was never lost, which the immense influence of Mr. Webster was unable to overcome, and which prepared the way, first for the Free Soil and they for the Republican party. Boston Conservatism occasionally made a good deal of noise afterward, but it never car-

ried another election. "Politics," said Mr. Franklin Pierce about that time in the Senate, "are beginning to mingle with that question." And "he profoundly regretted that individuals of both parties were submitting to the catechism of the abolitionists." Mr. Pierce was right; but there was a good deal more to come.

The intense hostility of a portion of the Northern people to the measures and methods of the early abolitionists did not and could not prevent a gradual change in the temper and the opinions of vast numbers of reflecting and conscientious men, who saw the sole remedy only in political action. The audacity of the slave power, never for a moment satisfied, gave its friends at the North no opportunity of appealing successfully to Northern interests. The most imprudent of mankind were always doing something which fanned the slumbering embers again into a blaze. They would not let well enough alone. They would not temporize even when to do so would have been greatly to their advantage. South Carolina, for instance, had been for years in the habit of imprisoning colored seamen during their detention at Charleston. Massachusetts appointed Samuel Hoar, of Concord, the agent of the State to prosecute suits to test the legality of these imprisonments. Mr. Hoar was not only a gentleman of great personal worth, but he belonged to one of the oldest families in the State, and for many years had been respected as a jurist of great ability and integrity. To what indignities he was subjected, and how he was expelled from the State, the history of those times will never fail to tell. One result of this was to make abolitionists of a great number of highly respectable people who otherwise might never have been moved from the path of the strictest conservatism. The admission of Texas as a slave State brought into the anti-slavery ranks, ill-defined as they were, great numbers of persons who otherwise might have kept silence forever. It caused a meeting of protest in Faneuil Hall, over which Charles Francis Adams presided. The resolutions were drawn up by Charles Sumner. They were presented by John G. Palfrey. Garrison and Phillips were there, and for once the anti-slavery men of the non-political and the political schools worked together. The matter was discussed in the colleges and the law schools, in the factories and work-shops; it was then that the great political revolution in so many States began. Above all, it sharply defined the line between those Whigs and Democrats who, after a political wrong had been

accomplished, were willing quietly to submit, and those who thought that the wrong would be a fair warning against others of a similar character. If the motive of annexation was the preservation of slavery, then there was all the more reason for watching slavery closely.

The case of Mr. Giddings is an excellent illustration of the folly by which the Whig party alienated many of its best friends. If he was anything, Mr. Giddings was every inch a Whig. He clung to his political organization when many another man would have left it in disgust. He was, while Mr. John Quincy Adams survived, the steady and able ally of that statesman in the House of Representatives. But neither this nor his strong anti-slavery sentiments prevented him from being a warm friend and supporter of Henry Clay. He clung to his party until his party nominated General Taylor. This was a supposed submission to the slave power, though it did not turn out to be afterward, which sent Mr. Giddings into the Free Soil ranks in 1848. What men went with him, and what came of that movement, even after it had to all appearance utterly failed, is well enough known. No wonder Mr. Giddings felt that the North should have different men in the public councils, when with a large majority it could not shield him from outrages in the House to which the lowest of men would hardly have submitted outside of it.

The Democratic party often exhibited as little wisdom. It had not, for instance, a stronger and more able soldier than Mr. John P. Hale, of New Hampshire. Personally very popular, he was an excellent debater, never found wanting in an emergency, and one who was alike equal to attack or defence. He was, however, foremost in his denunciation of the plan for the annexation of Texas—a measure which he characterized as “eminently calculated to provoke the scorn of earth and the judgment of Heaven.” He had already been nominated for the next Congress by the Democrats of his district, but another convention was called, and the name of Mr. Hale was taken from the ticket. It is to tell the whole historical story to say that this day’s absurd action made Mr. Hale a Senator of the United States. This is the story everywhere. The Whig National Convention, which treated with such utter contempt the protests of anti-slavery Whigs, was the last which met with any prospect of good fortune before it. The day was pregnant with great events, and great political changes were at hand. The Barnburner revolt in New York assisted in forwarding

the great reform. There were yet to be defeats, and men's minds were not entirely fixed; but both great parties in 1848 sealed their political doom with suicidal hands. Mr. Allen, of Massachusetts, had said in the Whig National Convention, "It is evident the terms of union between the Whigs of the North and the Whigs of the South are the perpetual surrender by the former of the high offices and powers of the Government to their Southern confederates. To these terms, I think, sir, the free States will no longer submit." Mr. Wilson declared that he would "not be bound by the proceedings of the convention;" and Mr. Stanley, of North Carolina, with far-seeing sagacity, retorted that he was "injuring no one but himself"—a declaration which in the light of subsequent events seems sufficiently amusing.

Before the dissatisfied delegates went home the Buffalo Convention was decided upon. The first State Convention of the new party in Massachusetts was held in Worcester, and was attended by men who have since been often enough heard of—by Henry Wilson, Charles Francis Adams, Charles Sumner, E. Rockwood Hoar, to mention no others. The action of the Buffalo Convention in nominating Mr. Van Buren for President brought a great portion of the Democratic party to the new organization, especially in Massachusetts, and in that State the party has never fairly recovered from the events of that campaign. The nomination of Charles Francis Adams for Vice-President was deemed a sufficient concession to the bolting Whigs. It was a ticket for an honest man to support, although no prospect of success was before it. The campaign started with great spirit in Ohio, being led by Chase, Giddings, Root, and other distinguished men. The new party went through a campaign which resulted in entire defeat and—in victory! But it had cast two hundred and ninety-thousand votes for freedom; it had defeated a candidate the avowed supporter of slavery; and it had secured the election of another who, although a slaveholder, was at least not a trimmer or a doughface.

Here as well as anywhere may be considered the distinctive character of those who early engaged in this war against slavery extension. It need not be said that coalition was necessary, and coalition always implies the co-operation of those who find each other useful, but who may be governed by widely different motives. Those who had conscientiously entertained a hatred of slavery found an opportunity of alliance with others, whose hostility was at least recent, and who had managed to get along

with the South so long as that section conceded to them a fair share in the Government. The Democratic wing of the Free Soil party made great pretensions to anti-slavery sentiment. Among those who were loudest was John Van Buren, of New York. He went so far as to say at Utica, in the Barnburners' Convention, "We expect to make the Democratic party of this State the great anti-slavery party of this State, and through it to make the Democratic party of the United States the great anti-slavery party of the United States." Subsequent events showed that this meant very little save the desire for revenge on the part of a son who was irritated by what he regarded as the personal wrongs of a father. Not many years elapsed before John Van Buren was again in the Democratic party, when it was even more thoroughly than before the servant of slavery, with the immoral aspects of the institution more fully developed. With him returned to their allegiance many thousands of Democrats. He was supple, clever, and adroit. As a platform speaker he had few equals; but that he was altogether sincere perhaps it would be too much to say.

No man is personally identified more historically with the Republican party than Henry Wilson. He had great virtues and great faults of character. His natural impulses were warm and generous. He had absolute physical courage, and when his passions were aroused he was a formidable enemy. He could put a personal injury in abeyance if he thought it for his advantage to do so; but he had a long memory, and although he might forgive he never forgot. He had great skill in party manœuvre, and a perfect faith in party management. It was perhaps his real misfortune that his first political successes of any importance were secured by coalitions. It is true that many of these were originated by himself, but he was not, it must be said in his defense, the originator of the opportunity. He was perfectly frank in his avowal of what he thought to be not only the expediency but the virtue of joining in any political movement which would advance his own political opinions, without much regard for appearances. Others acquiesced in such bargains—Mr. Wilson went farther, for he believed in them. There was no nicety, no moral scrupulosity in his constitution. This made it easy for him to act with anybody or everybody; and to this easy political virtue he owed his first election to the United States Senate. He joined the Know-Nothing party without in the least accepting its particular tenets. He did not hesitate to receive Democratic votes. In Massachusetts the

Whig party was in his way, and in the way of the anti-slavery views which he undoubtedly entertained, and he determined upon its destruction. He never apologized for alliances which others thought to be immoral. He was a leader of those who regarded slavery as sinful and impolitic; he himself undoubtedly shared in their opinions; but he did not hesitate in an emergency to act with those whose views were widely different. After his success was definitely assured he became more independent, and, it must be added, more consistent. His capacity for public affairs was of a first-rate order, and he had entirely risen above the defects of his early education. He was a born political soldier, and did quite as much as any man to bring the Republican party to compactness and coherence.

Mr. Charles Sumner was of a character widely different from that of his colleague. The latter, with all his merits, was in grain a politician; Mr. Sumner was perhaps the worst politician in the United States. While the struggle which resulted in making him a Senator of the United States was going on in the Massachusetts legislature, he kept resolutely aloof from the contest, and neither by word nor by deed indicated his approval or disapproval of the coalition. Even when the prolonged contest resulted in his election, he left the city of Boston that he might avoid the congratulations of his supporters of either sort. He followed what he called "a line of reserve." In a letter to Mr. Wilson he thanked that gentleman for "the energy, determination, and fidelity" with which he had fought the battle, and said, "For weal or woe, you must take the responsibility of having placed me in the Senate of the United States." It is doubtful whether Mr. Sumner did entirely approve the means which were used to make him in the first instance a Senator; but, like other anti-slavery Whigs and Democrats, he acquiesced. So sturdy a man as Robert Rantoul, Jr., accepted a seat in the Senate under precisely the same conditions, and he was elected to the House of Representatives in the same way. Even Horace Mann defended the coalition. Mr. Sumner's career in the Senate was never in the least influenced by the necessity of conciliating Democrats at home; and long before his re-election anything like coalition had, by the march of events, been made unnecessary. Ultimately Mr. Sumner's hold upon the hearts of the people of Massachusetts became so strong that the efforts of a petty clique to unseat him, could not under any circumstances probably have been successful. He was regarded, especially after the felonious assault

upon him in the Senate Chamber, as a martyr to the cause. He was a great man for great occasions; and by long familiarity with the business of the Senate he became much more practically useful than he was at first; but he could not be considered a popular member, and there were those who thought him somewhat arrogant. He never worked well in the traces of party, and there was something of the virtuoso in his character, which his less refined associates did not relish. His speeches were very carefully prepared, but they were often loaded with learning, and the more elaborate portions of them smelt of the lamp. His name, however, is inseparably and most honorably connected with the greatest of events, and he will doubtless be remembered long after he ceases to be read.

Charles Francis Adams had been among the earliest of the Conscience Whigs of Massachusetts. His distrust of the South and of the slaveholder was natural, for he had received a large inheritance of family grievances, real or supposed. None of them, however, prevented him from permitting his name to be used with that of Mr. Van Buren, and he accepted the nomination for the Vice-Presidency from the Buffalo Convention with perfect complacency. But if his passions were strong, his political tastes were occasionally fastidious and probably he never thoroughly relished the Massachusetts coalition. He exhibited on many occasions the same remarkable mixture of ardor and conservatism which characterized his illustrious father. He could lead sometimes with special ability, but he could not be easily or often led. Party harness sat very easily upon his shoulders, and he could throw it off whenever he pleased. But of the new party he was an invaluable member, for his training for public affairs had been first-rate; the historical associations of his name were interesting and attractive; he was very wealthy; and he was a master of political science. Opposed as he was to the coalition which elected Mr. Sumner, he shared that opposition with Richard H. Dana Jr., Samuel Hoar, John G. Palfrey, and some other eminent Free Soilers. Ultimately, of course, these differences of opinion subsided; but Mr. Adams has shown, with other members of the party, that the same freedom of judgment which had led to its formation still guided many of its choicest spirits. Of the brilliant career of Mr. Adams, subsequent to these events, it is unnecessary here to speak. The present time finds him a member of that Democratic party which he has so often and so bitterly

denounced. The fact is to be most pleasantly regarded as evidence of the perfect independence of his character.

All the temptations which led several prominent Whigs to repudiate the nomination of General Taylor in 1848 had no effect upon Mr. William H. Seward. His time had not yet come, but it was well known that his political opinions were of an anti-slavery color, and that he was particularly sensitive upon the point of surrendering fugitives from slavery. These views began to develop more definitely after his election to the United States Senate in 1849. In the debate upon the admission of California into the Union in 1850, he used the phrase "*higher law than the Constitution*," a part of which has become proverbial. He fought the compromises to the last. In his speech at Rochester in 1858 he had alluded to the "irrepressible conflict," and this phrase also has become famous, as well as the declaration that "the United States must and will become either entirely a slaveholding nation or entirely a free labor nation." In 1860 in the Senate he avowed that his vote should never be given to sanction slavery in the common territories of the United States, "or anywhere else in the world." His services as Secretary of State during the Rebellion were of the first order, and especially his management of our foreign relations. Undoubtedly his wisdom and forethought saved us upon more than one occasion from a foreign war. His adherence to office under President Johnson did much to injure his popularity, and perhaps he was not sorry definitely to retire from public life in 1869, and to find a new and rational pleasure in prolonged foreign travel. Mr. Seward was a man of fine literary tastes of no mean literary skill; he had the faculty of acquiring and of keeping friends; and in the social circle he was devoted and affectionate. The disappointment of his public life, which considered altogether was eminently successful, was his failure to secure the Presidency; but it must have been an alleviation to know that he shared this with so many eminent men. His public career was peculiarly consistent, and perhaps of all public characters of his time he was oftenest found upon the side of the oppressed and the unfortunate, even in cases which had no political significance.

The man who even before 1846, and in that year, argued that slavery was local and dependent upon State law, was Salmon P. Chase, of Ohio, and nothing could be more astonishing than the changes which ultimately placed such a lawyer upon the bench of the Supreme Court, and in the place just before occu-

pied by Chief-Justice Taney. He was one of the few remarkable men to whom the old Liberty party was indebted for an existence, to which the Republican party also owes something. He was the first or among the first to propose the Free Soil movement and the Buffalo Convention in 1848, and over this body he presided. He too was sent to the United States Senate by a coalition of Free Soil members and Democrats of the Ohio Legislature in 1849; but the Ohio Democrats in their State Convention had already declared slavery to be a national evil, which rendered the coalition at least not absurd and contradictory. Mr. Chase made haste to disavow all connection with the Democrats after the nomination of Mr. Pierce in 1852, upon a pro-slavery platform. With his record and strong opinions upon the subject of slavery he came naturally into the Republican party, and into the Cabinet of President Lincoln as Secretary of the Treasury in 1861. As Chief-Justice of the United States, his great learning, his sense of equity, and his liberal views of important public questions won him a permanent reputation as a lawyer. He did not always agree with the policy of the Republican party, and he was even talked of as a candidate of the Democrats for the Presidency—a nomination which was not accorded to him, but which it was understood that he was willing to accept under certain conditions. He is an excellent instance of what the reader of this chapter must have observed—the tendency, during stormy political seasons, of really able men to cut loose the bonds of party and to seek in new affiliations the accomplishment of cherished purposes and the vindication of profound convictions. Judge Chase, in his own State, was a man of unbounded popularity. This was never shaken by any course which he thought fit to pursue; and to the last no man ever doubted his integrity.

Not as President, but as one of the leaders who made the Republican party possible, the career of Abraham Lincoln before he was elected to the office in which he died a martyr to his principals, ought here to be alluded to. In Congress, which he entered in 1848, he doubted the constitutionality of slavery in the District of Columbia; he suggested the expediency of abolishing the slave-trade there; and he warmly advocated the Wilmot Proviso. When the project for the repeal of the Missouri Compromise was brought forward, he found his place in the great contest at once. His platform duels with Douglas in Illinois will never be forgotten, and his speech at Springfield utterly demolished the sophistry of the “great principle”

which asserted that a man in Nebraska might not only govern himself but also govern other persons without their consent. He too declared that no government could endure permanently which was "half slave and half free." How well he demeaned himself in his high office it is unnecessary to say. He grew larger and larger under the pressure of the terrible situation; he was as tender as a woman, and as stern as a Roman; he thought, planned, acted, always with perfect caution, with native sagacity, with a perfect appreciation of the situation. It was no accident, it was the impulse of character and the prompting of the heart which led Abraham Lincoln into the Republican party, of which he was a defender and ornament. In the most doubtful days, if there be a party which is on the side of justice and humanity, a man with a heart is sure to find it; and if there be another, its exact opposite, pledged to oppression, to selfishness, and to corruption, the man without a heart is sure to drift into it.

In this chapter many honored names have been necessarily omitted. The object has been to refer to only a few of the most prominent as examples of fidelity to great principles and to ideas worthy of the support of the American people. After all, more have been omitted than mentioned. We might have spoken of Horace Mann, the uncompromising philanthropist, the profound scholar, and the life-long advocate of popular education; of John G. Palfrey, who was among the first of Massachusetts Whigs to risk all save the reward of a good conscience for the sake of the slave; of the young and eloquent Burlingame, first known as a popular speaker, but who afterward developed into a most able diplomatist; and we might have added something of the magnetic influence which drew the young men of the North about the banner of freedom, and awakened an enthusiasm which made the strict lines and the self-seeking policy of the old parties distasteful of their generous natures. Happy will the nation be should any such great emergency again arise, if once more the old honesty shall be awakened and the old enthusiasm stimulated!

REPUBLICAN VICTORIES.

THE POPULAR AND ELECTORAL VOTE AT EACH PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION

SINCE THE FORMATION OF

THE REPUBLICAN PARTY.

REDUCTION OF THE PUBLIC DEBT.

POPULAR VOTE OF 1856.

STATES.	James Buchanan, Democratic.		John C. Fremont, Republican.		M. Fillmore, American.		Total Vote.
	Vote.	Maj.	Vote.	Maj.	Vote.	Maj.	
1 Alabama....	46,739	18,187	.....	.....	28,552	.....	75,291
2 Arkansas....	21,910	11,123	.....	.....	10,787	.....	32,697
3 California....	53,365	*17,200	.....	.....	36,165	.....	110,221
4 Connecticut	34,995	.....	20,691	.....	2,615	.....	80,325
5 Delaware....	8,004	1,521	42,715	5,105	6,175	.....	14,487
6 Florida....	6,358	1,525	308	.....	4,833	.....	11,191
7 Georgia....	56,578	14,350	.....	.....	42,228	.....	98,806
8 Illinois....	105,348	49,159	96,189	.....	37,444	.....	238,981
9 Indiana....	118,670	1,905	94,375	.....	22,386	.....	235,431
10 Iowa....	36,170	.....	43,954	47,784	9,180	.....	89,304
11 Kentucky....	74,642	6,912	314	.....	67,416	.....	142,372
12 Louisiana....	22,164	1,455	.....	.....	20,709	.....	42,873
13 Maine....	39,080	.....	67,379	24,974	3,325	.....	109,784
14 Maryland....	39,115	.....	281	.....	47,460	8,064	86,856
15 Massachusetts	39,240	.....	108,190	49,324	19,626	.....	167,056
16 Michigan....	52,136	.....	71,762	17,966	1,660	.....	125,553
17 Mississippi..	35,446	11,251	.....	.....	24,195	.....	59,641
18 Missouri....	58,164	9,640	.....	.....	48,524	.....	106,688
19 N.H.*pshire..	32,789	.....	38,345	5,134	422	.....	71,556
20 New Jersey..	46,943	*18,605	28,338	.....	24,115	.....	99,396
21 New York....	195,873	.....	276,007	480,129	124,604	.....	596,487
22 N. Carolina..	48,246	11,360	.....	.....	35,886	.....	85,132
23 Ohio....	170,874	.....	187,497	416,623	28,126	.....	386,497
24 P ⁿ sylvania	230,710	1,025	147,510	.....	82,175	.....	360,395
25 R. Island....	6,680	.....	11,467	8,112	1,675	.....	19,822
26 S. Carolina....	Electors	chosen	by the	Legis-	lature....	.....	.....
27 Tennessee....	73,638	7,460	.....	.....	66,178	.....	139,816
28 Texas....	31,169	15,530	.....	.....	15,639	.....	46,808
29 Vermont....	10,569	.....	39,561	28,447	545	.....	50,675
30 Virginia....	89,706	29,105	291	.....	60,810	.....	150,307
31 Wisconsin....	52,843	.....	66,090	12,668	579	.....	119,512
Total.....	1,838,169	142,353	1,341,264	146,730	874,534	8,064	4,053,967
Buchanan's Plurality..		†496,905					

* Plurality over Fillmore. † Plurality over Fremont. ‡ Plurality over Buchanan.

ELECTORAL VOTE OF 1856.

STATES.	PRES.			V. PRES.			Total.		STATES.	PRES.			V. PRES.			Total.
	Buchanan.	Fremont.	Fillmore.	Breckenridge.	Dayton.	Donelson.				Buchanan.	Fremont.	Fillmore.	Breckenridge.	Dayton.	Donelson.	
1 Alabama...	9	...	...	9	...	...	9	17	Mississippi...	7	...	...	7	...	...	7
2 Arkansas...	4	...	...	4	...	...	4	18	Missouri...	9	...	...	9	...	...	9
3 California...	4	...	...	4	...	...	4	19	N. Hamps'e...	...	5	...	...	5	...	5
4 Connecticut...	6	...	...	6	...	...	6	20	New Jersey...	7	...	...	7	...	...	7
5 Delaware...	3	...	...	3	...	...	3	21	New York...	...	35	...	...	35	...	35
6 Florida...	3	...	...	3	...	...	3	22	N. Carolina...	10	...	...	10	...	...	10
7 Georgia...	10	...	...	10	...	...	10	23	Ohio...	...	23	...	...	23	...	23
8 Illinois...	11	...	...	11	...	...	11	24	Pennsylv'ia...	27	...	...	27	...	...	27
9 Indiana...	13	...	...	13	...	...	13	25	R. Island...	...	4	...	...	4	...	4
10 Iowa...	4	...	...	4	...	...	4	26	S. Carolina...	8	...	...	8	...	...	8
11 Kentucky...	12	...	...	12	...	...	12	27	Tennessee...	12	...	...	12	...	...	12
12 Louisiana...	6	...	...	6	...	...	6	28	Texas...	4	...	...	4	...	...	4
13 Maine...	8	...	...	8	...	...	8	29	Vermont...	...	5	...	...	5	...	5
14 Maryland...	...	8	...	...	...	8	8	30	Virginia...	15	...	...	15	...	...	15
15 Mass'chu'ts...	13	...	...	13	...	...	13	31	Wisconsin...	...	5	...	...	5	...	5
16 Michigan...	6	...	...	6	...	...	6		Total...	174	114	8	174	114	8	296

POPULAR VOTE OF 1860.

STATES.	A. Lincoln, Republican.		S. A. Douglas, Ind. Dem.		J. C. Breckin- ridge, Dem.		John Bell, Const. Union.		Total Vote.
	Vote.	Maj.	Vote.	Maj.	Vote.	Maj.	Vote.	Maj.	
1 Alabama..			13,651		48,631	7,355	27,825		90,307
2 Arkansas..			5,227		28,732	3,411	20,094		54,053
3 California..	39,173	*657	38,516		34,334		6,817		118,310
4 Conn'ticut.	43,692	10,238	15,522		14,641		3,291		77,146
5 Delaware..	8,815		1,023		7,347	†3,483	3,864		16,049
6 Florida..			367		8,513	2,729	5,437		14,347
7 Georgia..			11,590		51,889	†9,063	43,886		106,365
8 Illinois....	172,161	5,629	160,215		2,404		3,913		338,693
9 Indiana....	139,033	5,923	115,509		12,295		5,306		272,143
10 Iowa....	70,409	12,487	55,111		1,048		1,763		128,331
11 Kentucky..	1,364		25,651		53,143		66,554	‡12,915	146,216
12 Louisiana..			7,625		22,681	†2,477	23,204		50,510
13 Maine....	62,811	27,704	26,693		6,368		2,046		97,918
14 Maryland..	2,294		5,966		42,482	†722	41,760		92,502
15 Mass....	106,533	43,891	34,372		5,939		22,331		169,175
16 Michigan..	88,480	22,213	65,057		865		405		154,747
17 Minnesota..	22,069	9,339	11,920		748		62		34,799
18 Mississ'ppi			3,283		40,797	12,474	25,040		69,120
19 Missouri..	17,028		58,801	†429	31,317		58,372		165,518
20 N. Hamp..	37,519	9,085	23,881		2,112		441		63,953
21 N. Jersey..	58,324		62,801	4,477					121,125
22 New York..	362,046	50,136	312,510						675,156
23 N. Carolina			2,701		48,339	648	44,990		96,030
24 Ohio....	231,610	20,779	187,232		11,405		12,194		442,441
25 Oregon....	5,270	*1,319	3,951		3,006		183		12,410
26 Penn....	268,030	59,618	16,765		178,871		12,776		476,442
27 R. Island..	12,244	4,537	7,707						19,951
28 S. Carolina	Electors	chosen	by the	Legis	lature.				
29 Tennessee			11,350		64,709		69,274	‡4,565	145,333
30 Texas....					47,548	32,110	15,438		62,986
31 Vermont..	33,808	24,772	6,849		1,969		218		42,844
32 Virginia..	1,929		16,290		74,323		74,681	‡358	167,223
33 Wisconsin	86,110	20,040	65,021		888		161		152,180
Total....	1,866,352	326,391	1,375,157	4,477	847,514	58,737	587,830		4,676,853
Lincoln's Plurality..		*491,195							

* Plurality over Douglas. † Plurality over Bell. ‡ Plurality over Breckinridge.

ELECTORAL VOTE OF 1860.

STATES.	PRESIDENT.				VICE-PRESIDENT.				Total.
	A. Lincoln, of Illinois.	J. C. Breckinridge, of Kentucky.	John Bell, of Tennessee.	S. A. Douglas, of Illinois.	H. Hamlin, of Maine.	Joseph Lane, of Oregon.	Edward Everett, of Massachusetts.	H. V. Johnson, of Georgia.	
1 Alabama.....		9				9			9
2 Arkansas.....		4				4			4
3 California.....	4				4				4
4 Connecticut.....	6				6				6
5 Delaware.....		3				3			3
6 Florida.....		3				3			3
7 Georgia.....		10				10			10
8 Illinois.....	11				11				11
9 Indiana.....	13				13				13
10 Iowa.....	4				4				4
11 Kentucky.....			12				12		12
12 Louisiana.....		6				6			6
13 Maine.....	8				8				8
14 Maryland.....		8				8			8
15 Massachusetts.....	13				13				13
16 Michigan.....	6				6				6
17 Minnesota.....	4				4				4
18 Mississippi.....		7				7			7
19 Missouri.....				9				9	9
20 New Hampshire.....	5				5				5
21 New Jersey.....	4			3	4			3	7
22 New York.....	35				35				35
23 North Carolina.....		10				10			10
24 Ohio.....	23				23				23
25 Oregon.....	3				3				3
26 Pennsylvania.....	27				27				27
27 Rhode Island.....	4				4				4
28 South Carolina.....		8				8			8
29 Tennessee.....			12				12		12
30 Texas.....		4				4			4
31 Vermont.....	5				5				5
32 Virginia.....			15				15		15
33 Wisconsin.....	5				5				5
Total.....	180	72	39	12	180	72	39	12	303

POPULAR VOTE OF 1864.

STATES.	Abraham Lincoln, Republican.		Geo. B. McClellan, Democratic.		Total Vote.
	Vote.	Maj.	Vote.	Maj.	
1 Alabama*					
2 Arkansas*					
3 California	62,134	13,293	43,841		105,975
4 Connecticut	44,691	2,406	42,285		86,976
5 Delaware	8,155		8,767	612	16,922
6 Florida*					
7 Georgia*					
8 Illinois	189,496	50,766	158,730		348,226
9 Indiana	150,422	20,189	130,233		280,655
10 Iowa	89,075	39,479	49,596		138,671
11 Kansas	16,441	12,750	3,691		20,132
12 Kentucky	27,786		64,301	36,515	92,087
13 Louisiana*					
14 Maine	61,803	17,592	44,211		106,014
15 Maryland	40,153	7,414	32,739		72,892
16 Massachusetts	126,742	77,997	48,745		175,487
17 Michigan	91,521	16,917	74,604		166,125
18 Minnesota	25,060	7,685	17,375		42,435
19 Mississippi*					
20 Missouri	72,750	41,072	31,678		104,428
21 Nevada	9,826	3,252	6,594		16,420
22 New Hampshire	36,400	3,529	32,871		69,271
23 New Jersey	60,723		68,024	7,301	128,747
24 New York	368,735	6,749	361,986		730,721
25 North Carolina*					
26 Ohio	265,154	59,586	205,568		470,722
27 Oregon	9,888	1,431	8,457		18,345
28 Pennsylvania	296,391	20,075	276,316		572,707
29 Rhode Island	13,692	5,222	8,470		22,162
30 South Carolina*					
31 Tennessee					
32 Texas*					
33 Vermont	42,419	29,098	13,321		55,740
34 Virginia*					
35 West Virginia	23,152	12,714	10,438		33,590
36 Wisconsin	83,458	17,574	65,884		149,342
Total	2,216,067	451,770	1,808,725	44,428	4,024,792
Lincoln's Majority		407,342			

The eleven States marked thus (*) did not vote.

ELECTORAL VOTE OF 1864.

STATES.	PRESI- DENT.			VICE- PRES.			Total.	STATES.	PRESI- DENT.			VICE- PRES.			Total.
	A. Lincoln, of Ill.	G. B. McClellan, of N. J.	Vacancies.	A. Johnson, of Tenn.	G. H. Pendleton, of O.	Vacancies.			A. Lincoln, of Ill.	G. B. McClellan, of N. J.	Vacancies.	A. Johnson, of Tenn.	G. H. Pendleton, of O.	Vacancies.	
1 Alabama.....	..	..	2	..	..	2	8	20 Missouri.....	11	..	..	11	..	..	11
2 Arkansas.....	..	..	2	..	..	2	5	21 Nevada.....	2	1	..	2	1	..	3
3 California.....	5	..	..	5	..	..	5	22 New Hampshire.....	5	..	..	5	..	..	5
4 Connecticut.....	6	..	..	6	..	..	6	23 New Jersey.....	..	..	..	..	7	..	9
5 Delaware.....	..	3	..	..	3	..	3	24 New York.....	33	..	..	33	..	..	33
6 Florida.....	..	3	..	..	3	..	3	25 North Carolina.....	..	9	..	..	9	..	9
7 Georgia.....	..	9	..	..	9	..	9	26 Ohio.....	21	..	..	21	..	..	21
8 Illinois.....	16	..	..	16	..	..	16	27 Oregon.....	3	..	..	3	..	..	3
9 Indiana.....	13	..	..	13	..	..	13	28 Pennsylvania.....	26	..	..	26	..	..	26
10 Iowa.....	8	..	..	8	..	..	8	29 Rhode Island.....	4	..	..	4	..	..	4
11 Kansas.....	3	..	..	3	..	..	3	30 South Carolina.....	..	6	..	..	6	..	6
12 Kentucky.....	..	11	..	..	11	..	11	31 Tennessee.....	..	10	..	..	10	..	10
13 Louisiana.....	..	7	..	..	7	..	7	32 Texas.....	..	6	..	..	6	..	6
14 Maine.....	7	..	..	7	..	..	7	33 Vermont.....	5	..	..	5	..	..	5
15 Maryland.....	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	34 Virginia.....	..	10	..	..	10	..	10
16 Massachusetts.....	12	..	..	12	..	..	12	35 West Virginia.....	5	..	..	5	..	..	5
17 Michigan.....	8	..	..	8	..	..	8	36 Wisconsin.....	8	..	..	8	..	..	8
18 Minnesota.....	4	..	..	..	..	..	4								
19 Mississippi.....	..	7	..	..	7	..	7	Total.....	212	21	81	212	21	81	314

POPULAR VOTE OF 1868.

STATES.	Ulysses S. Grant, Republican.		Horatio Seymour, Democratic.		Total Vote.
	Vote.	Maj.	Vote.	Maj.	
1 Alabama.....	76,366	4,278	72,088	.....	148,454
2 Arkansas.....	22,112	3,034	19,078	.....	41,190
3 California.....	54,583	506	54,077	.....	108,660
4 Connecticut.....	50,995	3,043	47,952	.....	98,947
5 Delaware.....	7,623	.....	10,980	3,357	18,603
6 Florida.....	Electors	chosen	by the	Legisla-	ture,
7 Georgia.....	57,134	.....	102,722	45,588	159,856
8 Illinois.....	250,303	51,160	199,143	.....	449,446
9 Indiana.....	176,548	9,568	166,980	.....	343,528
10 Iowa.....	120,399	46,359	74,040	.....	194,439
11 Kansas.....	31,048	17,058	13,990	.....	45,038
12 Kentucky.....	39,566	.....	115,890	76,324	155,456
13 Louisiana.....	33,263	.....	80,225	46,962	113,488
14 Maine.....	70,493	28,033	42,460	.....	112,953
15 Maryland.....	30,438	.....	62,357	31,919	92,795
16 Massachusetts.....	136,477	77,069	59,408	.....	195,885
17 Michigan.....	128,550	31,481	97,069	.....	225,619
18 Minnesota.....	43,545	15,470	28,075	.....	71,620
19 Mississippi.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
20 Missouri.....	86,860	21,232	65,628	.....	152,488
21 Nebraska.....	9,729	4,290	5,439	.....	15,168
22 Nevada.....	6,480	1,262	5,218	.....	11,698
23 New Hampshire.....	38,191	6,967	31,224	.....	69,415
24 New Jersey.....	80,131	.....	83,001	2,870	163,132
25 New York.....	419,883	.....	429,883	10,000	849,766
26 North Carolina.....	96,769	12,168	84,601	.....	181,370
27 Ohio.....	280,223	41,617	238,606	.....	518,829
28 Oregon.....	10,961	.....	11,125	164	22,086
29 Pennsylvania.....	342,280	28,898	313,382	.....	655,662
30 Rhode Island.....	12,993	6,445	6,548	.....	19,541
31 South Carolina.....	62,301	17,064	45,237	.....	107,538
32 Tennessee.....	56,628	30,499	26,129	.....	82,757
33 Texas.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
34 Vermont.....	44,167	32,122	12,045	.....	56,212
35 Virginia.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
36 West Virginia.....	29,175	8,969	20,306	.....	49,481
37 Wisconsin.....	108,857	24,150	84,707	.....	193,564
Total.....	3,015,071	522,642	2,709,613	217,184	5,724,684
Grant's Majority.....	.....	305,458	.....	.....	.....

ELECTORAL VOTE OF 1868.

STATES.	PRESI- DENT.			VICE- PRES.				STATES.	PRESI- DENT.			VICE- PRES.			
	U. S. Grant, of Ill.	H. Seymour, of N. Y.	Vacancies.	S. Colfax, of Ind.	F. P. Blair, of Mo.	Vacancies.			U. S. Grant, of Ill.	H. Seymour, of N. Y.	Vacancies.	S. Colfax, of Ind.	F. P. Blair, of Mo.	Vacancies.	
1 Alabama.....	2			2			20	Missouri.....	11			11			11
2 Arkansas.....	5			5			21	Nebraska.....	3			3			3
3 California.....	5			5			22	Nevada.....	3			3			3
4 Connecticut.....	6			6			23	New Hampshire.....	5			5			5
5 Delaware.....	3			3			24	New Jersey.....							7
6 Florida.....	2			2			25	New York.....	33			33			33
7 Georgia.....	9			9			26	North Carolina.....	9			9			9
8 Illinois.....	16			16			27	Ohio.....	21			21			21
9 Indiana.....	13			13			28	Oregon.....							3
10 Iowa.....	22			22			29	Pennsylvania.....	26			26			26
11 Kansas.....	3			3			30	Rhode Island.....	4			4			4
12 Kentucky.....	11			11			31	South Carolina.....	6			6			6
13 Louisiana.....	7			7			32	Tennessee.....	10			10			10
14 Maine.....	7			7			33	Texas.....		6			6		6
15 Maryland.....	7			7			34	Vermont.....	5			5			5
16 Massachusetts.....	12			12			35	Virginia.....		10			10		10
17 Michigan.....	8			8			36	West Virginia.....	5			5			5
18 Minnesota.....	4			4			37	Wisconsin.....	8			8			8
19 Mississippi.....		7			7			Total.....	214	80	23	214	80	23	317

POPULAR VOTE OF 1872.

STATES.	U. S. Grant, Republican.		H. Greeley, Dem. & Lib. Rep.		O'Connor, Dem.	Black, Temp.	Total Vote.
	Vote.	Maj.	Vote.	Maj.	Vote.	Vote.	
1 Alabama.....	90,272	10,828	79,444	.....	.....	.....	169,716
2 Arkansas.....	41,373	3,446	37,927	.....	.....	.....	79,300
3 California.....	54,020	12,234	40,718	.....	1,068	.....	95,806
4 Connecticut.....	50,638	4,348	45,880	.....	204	206	96,928
5 Delaware.....	11,115	422	10,206	.....	487	.....	21,808
6 Florida.....	17,763	2,336	15,427	.....	.....	.....	33,190
7 Georgia.....	62,550	.....	76,356	9,806	4,000	.....	142,906
8 Illinois.....	241,944	53,948	184,938	.....	3,058	.....	429,940
9 Indiana.....	186,147	21,098	163,632	.....	1,417	.....	351,196
10 Iowa.....	131,566	58,149	71,196	.....	2,221	.....	204,983
11 Kansas.....	67,048	33,482	32,970	.....	596	.....	100,614
12 Kentucky.....	88,766	.....	99,995	8,855	2,374	.....	191,135
13 Louisiana.....	71,663	14,634	57,029	.....	.....	.....	128,692
14 Maine.....	61,422	32,335	29,087	.....	.....	.....	90,509
15 Maryland.....	66,760	.....	67,687	908	19	.....	134,466
16 Massachusetts.....	133,472	74,212	59,260	.....	.....	.....	192,732
17 Michigan.....	138,455	55,968	78,355	.....	2,861	1,271	220,942
18 Minnesota.....	55,117	20,694	34,423	.....	.....	.....	89,540
19 Mississippi.....	82,175	34,887	47,288	.....	.....	.....	129,463
20 Missouri.....	119,196	.....	151,434	29,809	2,429	.....	273,059
21 Nebraska.....	18,329	10,517	7,812	.....	.....	.....	26,141
22 Nevada.....	8,413	2,177	6,236	.....	.....	.....	14,649
23 New Hampshire.....	37,168	5,444	31,424	.....	100	200	68,892
24 New Jersey.....	91,656	14,570	76,456	.....	630	.....	168,742
25 New York.....	440,736	51,800	387,281	.....	1,454	201	829,672
26 North Carolina.....	94,769	24,675	70,094	.....	.....	.....	164,863
27 Ohio.....	281,852	34,268	244,321	.....	1,163	2,100	529,436
28 Oregon.....	11,819	3,517	7,730	.....	572	.....	20,121
29 Pennsylvania.....	349,589	135,918	212,041	.....	.....	1,630	563,260
30 Rhode Island.....	13,665	8,336	5,329	.....	.....	.....	18,994
31 South Carolina.....	72,290	49,400	22,703	.....	187	.....	95,180
32 Tennessee.....	85,655	.....	94,391	8,736	.....	.....	180,046
33 Texas.....	47,406	.....	66,500	16,595	2,499	.....	116,405
34 Vermont.....	41,481	29,961	10,927	.....	593	.....	53,001
35 Virginia.....	93,468	1,772	91,654	.....	42	.....	185,164
36 West Virginia.....	32,315	2,264	29,451	.....	600	.....	62,366
37 Wisconsin.....	104,997	17,686	86,477	.....	834	.....	192,308
Total.....	3,597,070	825,326	2,834,079	74,709	29,408	5,608	6,466,165
Grant's Majority.....	.....	727,975	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....

ELECTORAL VOTE OF 1872.

STATES.	PRESIDENT.						VICE-PRESIDENT.								Total.		
	Ulysses S. Grant, of Ill.	T. A. Hendricks, of Ind.	B. Gratz Brown, of Mo.	C. J. Jenkins, of Georgia.	D. Davis, of Illinois.	Not Counted.	H. Wilson, of Mass.	B. G. Brown, of Mo.	G. W. Julian, of Ind.	A. H. Colquitt, of Ga.	J. M. Palmer, of Illinois.	T. E. Bramlette, of Ky.	W. S. Groesbeck, of Ohio.	W. B. Machen, of Ky.		N. P. Banks, of Mass.	Not Counted.
1 Alabama.....	10					6	10										10
2 Arkansas.....																	6
3 California.....	6						6										6
4 Connecticut.....	6						6										6
5 Delaware.....	3						3										3
6 Florida.....	4						4										4
7 Georgia.....				6	2	3		5		5					1		11
8 Illinois.....	21						21										21
9 Indiana.....	15						15										15
10 Iowa.....	11						11										11
11 Kansas.....	5						5										5
12 Kentucky.....		8	4					8				3		1			12
13 Louisiana.....						8									8		8
14 Maine.....	7						7										7
15 Maryland.....		8						8									8
16 Massachusetts.....	13						13										13
17 Michigan.....	11						11										11
18 Minnesota.....	5						5										5
19 Mississippi.....	8						8										8
20 Missouri.....		6	6		1			6	5		3		1				15
21 Nebraska.....	3						3										3
22 Nevada.....	3						3										3
23 New Hampshire.....	5						5										5
24 New Jersey.....	9						9										9
25 New York.....	35						35										35
26 North Carolina.....	10						10										10
27 Ohio.....	22						22										22
28 Oregon.....	3						3										3
29 Pennsylvania.....	29						29										29
30 Rhode Island.....	4						4										4
31 South Carolina.....	7						7										7
32 Tennessee.....		12						12									12
33 Texas.....		8						8									8
34 Vermont.....	5						5										5
35 Virginia.....	11						11										11
36 West Virginia.....	5						5										5
37 Wisconsin.....	10						10										10
Total.....	286	42	18	2	1	17	286	47	5	5	3	3	1	1	1	14	366

POPULAR VOTE OF 1876.

STATES.	S. J. Tilden, Democratic.		R. B. Hayes, Republican.		Peter Cooper, Greenback.	G. C. Smith, Temperance,	Scattering.	Total Vote.
	Vote.	Maj.	Vote.	Maj.				
1 Alabama.....	102,002	33,772	68,230	.....	.....	.....	.....	170,332
2 Arkansas.....	58,071	19,113	38,669	.....	289	.....	.....	97,029
3 California.....	76,465	.....	79,269	2,738	47	.....	19	155,800
4 Colorado.....	Electors	chosen	by the	Legis-	lature.	.....	.....	.....
5 Connecticut.....	61,934	1,712	59,034	.....	774	378	36	122,156
6 Delaware.....	13,381	2,629	10,752	.....	.....	.....	.....	24,133
7 Florida.....	22,923	.....	23,849	926	.....	.....	.....	46,772
8 Georgia.....	130,088	79,642	50,446	.....	.....	.....	.....	180,534
9 Illinois.....	258,601	.....	278,232	1,971	17,233	141	286	554,493
10 Indiana.....	213,526	5,515	208,011	.....	9,533	.....	.....	431,070
11 Iowa.....	112,099	.....	171,327	50,191	9,001	36	.....	292,463
12 Kansas.....	37,902	.....	78,322	32,511	7,776	110	23	124,133
13 Kentucky.....	159,690	59,772	97,156	.....	1,944	818	.....	259,608
14 Louisiana.....	70,508	.....	75,135	4,627	.....	.....	.....	145,643
15 Maine.....	49,823	.....	66,300	15,814	663	.....	.....	116,786
16 Maryland.....	91,780	19,756	71,981	.....	33	10	.....	163,804
17 Massachusetts.....	108,777	.....	150,063	40,423	779	84	.....	259,703
18 Michigan.....	141,095	.....	166,534	15,542	9,060	766	71	317,526
19 Minnesota.....	48,799	.....	72,962	21,780	2,311	72	.....	124,144
20 Mississippi.....	112,173	59,568	52,605	.....	.....	.....	.....	164,778
21 Missouri.....	203,077	54,389	145,029	.....	3,498	64	97	351,765
22 Nebraska.....	17,554	.....	31,916	10,326	2,320	1,599	117	53,506
23 Nevada.....	9,308	.....	10,383	1,075	.....	.....	.....	19,691
24 New Hampshire.....	38,509	.....	41,539	2,954	76	.....	.....	80,124
25 New Jersey.....	115,962	11,690	103,517	.....	712	43	.....	220,231
26 New York.....	521,949	26,568	489,207	.....	1,987	2,359	1,828	1,017,330
27 North Carolina.....	125,427	17,010	108,417	.....	.....	.....	.....	233,844
28 Ohio.....	323,182	.....	330,698	2,747	3,057	1,636	76	658,649
29 Oregon.....	14,149	.....	5,206	547	510	.....	.....	20,865
30 Pennsylvania.....	366,158	.....	384,122	9,375	7,187	1,319	83	758,869
31 Rhode Island.....	10,712	.....	15,787	4,947	68	60	.....	26,627
32 South Carolina.....	90,906	.....	91,870	964	.....	.....	.....	182,776
33 Tennessee.....	133,166	43,600	89,566	.....	.....	.....	.....	222,732
34 Texas.....	104,755	59,955	44,800	.....	.....	.....	.....	149,555
35 Vermont.....	20,254	.....	44,092	23,838	.....	.....	.....	64,346
36 Virginia.....	139,670	44,112	95,558	.....	.....	.....	.....	235,228
37 West Virginia.....	56,455	12,384	42,698	.....	1,373	.....	.....	100,526
38 Wisconsin.....	123,927	.....	130,668	5,205	1,509	27	.....	256,131
Total.....	4,284,757	545,672	4,033,950	248,501	81,740	9,522	2,636	8,412,605
Tilden's Majority.....		156,909						

ELECTORAL VOTE OF 1876.

		PRESIDENT.		VICE PRES.				PRESIDENT.		VICE PRES.			
STATES.		R. B. Hayes, of Ohio.	S. J. Tilden, of N. Y.	W. A. Wheeler, of N. Y.	T. A. Hendricks, of Ind.	Total.	STATES.		R. B. Hayes, of Ohio.	S. J. Tilden, of N. Y.	W. A. Wheeler, of N. Y.	T. A. Hendricks, of Ind.	Total.
1	Alabama.....	10	...	10	10	21	Missouri.....	15	...	15	15	3	3
2	Arkansas.....	6	6	6	6	22	Nebraska.....	3	3	3	3	3	3
3	California.....	3	3	3	3	23	Nevada.....	3	3	3	3	3	3
4	Colorado.....	3	3	3	3	24	New Hampshire.....	5	5	5	5	5	5
5	Connecticut.....	6	6	6	6	25	New Jersey.....	5	5	5	5	5	5
6	Delaware.....	3	3	3	3	26	New York.....	9	9	9	9	9	9
7	Florida*.....	4	4	4	4	27	North Carolina.....	35	35	35	35	35	35
8	Georgia.....	11	11	11	11	28	Ohio.....	10	10	10	10	10	10
9	Illinois.....	21	21	21	21	29	Oregon*.....	3	3	3	3	3	3
10	Indiana.....	15	15	15	15	30	Pennsylvania.....	29	29	29	29	29	29
11	Iowa.....	11	11	11	11	31	Rhode Island.....	4	4	4	4	4	4
12	Kansas.....	5	5	5	5	32	South Carolina*.....	7	7	7	7	7	7
13	Kentucky.....	12	12	12	12	33	Tennessee.....	12	12	12	12	12	12
14	Louisiana*.....	8	8	8	8	34	Texas.....	8	8	8	8	8	8
15	Maine.....	7	7	7	7	35	Vermont.....	5	5	5	5	5	5
16	Maryland.....	8	8	8	8	36	Virginia.....	11	11	11	11	11	11
17	Massachusetts.....	13	13	13	13	37	West Virginia.....	5	5	5	5	5	5
18	Michigan.....	11	11	11	11	38	Wisconsin.....	10	10	10	10	10	10
19	Minnesota.....	5	5	5	5								
20	Mississippi.....	8	8	8	8								
						Total.....	185	184	185	184	369		

* From Florida two sets of certificates were received; from Louisiana, three; from Oregon, two; and from South Carolina, two. They were referred to an Electoral Commission, formed under the provisions of the Compromise Bill, approved January 29th, 1877; the Commission decided in favor of counting the Electoral Vote, as returned in the table.

Number of Counties in each State and Territory in 1878.

1	Alabama.....	67	19	Minnesota.....	71	37	West Virginia.....	54
2	Arkansas.....	74	20	Mississippi.....	75	38	Wisconsin.....	60
3	California.....	52	21	Missouri.....	115			
4	Colorado.....	30	22	Nebraska.....	62		Total Counties.....	2299
5	Connecticut.....	8	23	Nevada.....	14			
6	Delaware.....	3	24	New Hampshire.....	10			
7	Florida.....	39	25	New Jersey.....	21		TERRITORIES.	
8	Georgia.....	137	26	New York.....	60			
9	Illinois.....	102	27	North Carolina.....	94	1	Arizona.....	6
10	Indiana.....	92	28	Ohio.....	88	2	Dakota.....	34
11	Iowa.....	99	29	Oregon.....	23	3	Idaho.....	10
12	Kansas.....	76	30	Pennsylvania.....	67	4	Montana.....	10
13	Kentucky.....	117	31	Rhode Island.....	5	5	New Mexico.....	12
14	Louisiana.....	58	32	South Carolina.....	33	6	Utah.....	20
15	Maine.....	16	33	Tennessee.....	94	7	Washington.....	24
16	Maryland.....	23	34	Texas.....	151	8	Wyoming.....	5
17	Massachusetts.....	14	35	Vermont.....	14			
18	Michigan.....	76	36	Virginia.....	105		Total.....	121

POPULAR AND ELECTORAL VOTE FOR PRESIDENT, 1880.

STATES.	Garfield, Republican.	Hancock, Democrat.	Weaver, Greenback.	Scattering.	Garfield's plurality.	Hancock's plurality.	Total popular vote.	Electoral vote.		
								Garfield.	Hancock.	Total.
Alabama.....	56,178	90,687	4,642	.....	.....	34,509	151,507	.....	10	10
Arkansas.....	41,661	60,489	4,079	.....	.....	18,823	106,229	.....	6	6
California.....	80,348	80,426	3,392	.....	.....	78	164,166	1	5	6
Colorado.....	27,450	24,647	1,435	.....	2,803	.....	53,532	3	.....	3
Connecticut.....	67,073	64,417	868	412	2,656	.....	132,770	6	.....	6
Delaware.....	14,150	15,183	.....	.....	.....	1,033	29,333	.....	3	3
Florida.....	23,654	27,964	.....	.....	.....	4,310	51,618	.....	4	4
Georgia.....	52,648	102,522	481	.....	.....	49,874	155,651	.....	11	11
Illinois.....	318,037	277,321	26,358	596	40,716	.....	622,312	21	.....	21
Indiana.....	223,164	225,528	12,986	.....	6,636	.....	470,678	15	.....	15
Iowa.....	183,904	105,845	32,327	630	79,059	.....	322,706	11	.....	11
Kansas.....	121,520	59,789	19,710	.....	61,731	.....	201,019	5	.....	5
Kentucky.....	104,550	147,999	11,498	257	.....	43,449	264,304	.....	12	12
Louisiana.....	37,994	65,310	439	.....	.....	27,316	97,201	.....	8	8
Maine.....	74,039	65,171	4,408	235	8,863	.....	143,853	7	.....	7
Maryland.....	78,515	93,706	818	.....	.....	15,191	173,039	.....	8	8
Massachusetts.....	165,205	111,960	4,548	799	53,245	.....	282,512	13	.....	13
Michigan.....	185,190	131,300	34,795	1,156	53,890	.....	352,441	11	.....	11
Minnesota.....	93,903	53,515	3,267	286	40,588	.....	150,771	5	.....	5
Mississippi.....	84,854	75,750	5,797	677	.....	40,896	117,073	.....	8	8
Missouri.....	153,567	208,609	35,045	.....	.....	55,042	397,221	.....	15	15
Nebraska.....	54,979	28,523	3,853	.....	26,456	.....	87,355	3	.....	3
Nevada.....	8,732	9,611	.....	.....	.....	879	18,343	.....	3	3
New Hampshire.....	44,852	40,794	528	189	4,058	.....	86,363	5	.....	5
New Jersey.....	120,555	122,565	2,617	191	.....	2,010	245,328	.....	9	9
New York.....	555,544	534,511	12,373	2,177	21,033	.....	1,104,605	35	.....	35
North Carolina.....	115,878	124,204	1,136	.....	.....	8,326	241,218	.....	10	10
Ohio.....	375,048	340,821	6,456	2,642	34,227	.....	724,967	22	.....	22
Oregon.....	20,619	19,948	249	.....	671	.....	40,816	3	.....	3
Pennsylvania.....	444,704	407,428	20,668	1,983	37,276	.....	874,783	29	.....	29
Rhode Island.....	18,195	10,779	236	25	7,416	.....	29,235	4	.....	4
South Carolina.....	58,071	112,312	566	7	.....	54,241	170,556	.....	7	7
Tennessee.....	107,677	128,191	5,916	43	.....	20,514	241,827	.....	12	12
Texas.....	57,815	156,228	27,405	.....	.....	98,383	241,478	.....	8	8
Vermont.....	45,090	18,181	1,212	110	26,909	.....	64,593	5	.....	5
Virginia.....	84,020	127,976	139	.....	.....	43,956	212,135	.....	11	11
West Virginia.....	46,243	57,391	9,079	.....	.....	11,148	112,713	.....	5	5
Wisconsin.....	144,397	114,634	7,080	161	29,763	.....	267,172	10	.....	10
Total.....	4,449,053	4,442,035	307,306	*12,576	537,001	529,983	9,204,428	214	155	369
Plurality.....	7,018	.....	.....	.....	7,018	.....	.....	59	.....	.....
Per cent.....	48.26	48.25	3.33	.13	.....	.....	.....	58.00	42.00	.....

* Of the scattering votes, 10,305 were cast for Neal Dow, "Prohibition" candidate for President, and 707 votes for John W. Phelps, "American" or Anti-Secret-Society candidate.

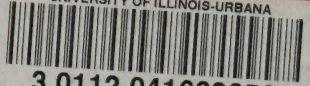
REPUBLICAN FINANCIAL ACHIEVEMENTS.

OFFICIAL TREASURY STATEMENT, SHOWING THE ANNUAL REDUCTIONS IN THE **Principal, Interest, AND Per Capita** AMOUNT OF THE **Public Debt** FROM 1865 TO 1883.

	Total interest-bearing debt.	Annual interest charge.	Debt on which interest has ceased.	Debt bearing no interest.
1865.....	2,221,311,918 29	137,742,617 43	1,245,771 20	458,090,180 25
1865—Aug. 3d.....	2,381,530,294 96	150,977,697 87	1,503,020 09	461,616,311 51
1866—July 1st.....	2,332,331,207 60	146,068,196 29	935,092 05	439,969,874 04
1867.....	2,248,067,387 66	136,892,451 39	1,840,615 01	428,218,101 20
1868.....	2,202,088,727 69	128,459,588 14	1,197,340 89	408,401,782 61
1869.....	2,162,060,522 39	125,523,998 34	5,260,181 00	421,131,510 55
1870.....	2,046,455,722 39	118,784,960 34	3,708,641 00	430,508,064 42
1871.....	1,964,696,750 00	111,949,330 50	1,948,902 26	416,565,680 06
1872.....	1,814,794,100 00	103,988,463 00	7,926,796 26	430,530,431 52
1873.....	1,710,483,950 00	98,049,804 00	51,927,710 26	472,069,332 94
1874.....	1,738,930,750 00	98,796,004 50	3,216,590 26	509,543,128 17
1875.....	1,722,676,300 00	96,855,630 50	11,425,820 26	498,182,411 69
1876.....	1,710,685,450 00	95,104,269 00	3,902,420 26	465,807,196 89
1877.....	1,711,888,500 00	93,160,643 50	16,648,860 26	476,764,031 84
1878.....	1,794,735,650 00	94,654,472 50	5,594,560 26	455,875,682 27
1879.....	1,797,643,700 00	83,773,778 50	37,015,630 26	410,835,741 78
1880.....	1,723,993,100 00	79,633,981 00	7,621,455 26	388,800,815 37
1881.....	1,639,567,750 00	75,018,695 00	6,723,865 00	422,721,954 00
1882.....	1,463,810,400 00	57,360,111 00	16,260,305 00	438,241,739 00
1883.....	1,338,229,150 00	51,436,709 00	7,831,415 00	538,111,163 00

	Outstanding principal.	Cash in the Treasury, July 1.	Total debt, less cash in Treasury.	Population of the United States.	Debt per capita.	Interest per capita.
1865.....	2,680,647,869 74	5,832,012 98	2,674,815,856 76	34,748,000	76 98	3 97
1865.....	2,844,649,626 56	88,218,055 13	2,756,431,571 43	35,228,000	78 25	4 29
1866.....	2,773,236,173 69	137,200,009 85	2,636,036,163 84	35,469,000	74 32	4 12
1867.....	2,678,126,103 87	169,974,892 18	2,508,151,211 69	36,211,000	69 26	3 84
1868.....	2,611,687,851 19	130,854,457 96	2,480,833,413 23	36,973,000	67 10	3 48
1869.....	2,588,452,213 94	155,680,340 85	2,432,771,873 09	37,756,000	64 43	3 32
1870.....	2,480,672,427 81	149,502,471 60	2,331,169,956 21	38,558,371	60 46	3 08
1871.....	2,353,211,332 32	106,217,263 65	2,246,994,068 67	39,555,000	56 81	2 83
1872.....	2,253,251,328 78	103,470,798 43	2,149,780,530 35	40,604,000	52 95	2 56
1873.....	2,234,482,993 20	129,020,932 45	2,105,462,060 75	41,704,000	50 49	2 35
1874.....	2,251,630,468 43	147,541,314 74	2,104,149,153 69	42,856,000	49 10	2 31
1875.....	2,232,284,531 95	142,243,361 82	2,090,041,170 13	44,060,000	47 44	2 19
1876.....	2,180,395,067 15	119,469,726 70	2,060,925,340 45	45,316,000	45 48	2 10
1877.....	2,205,301,332 10	186,025,960 73	2,019,275,431 37	46,624,000	43 31	2 00
1878.....	2,256,205,892 53	256,823,612 08	1,999,382,280 45	47,983,000	41 67	1 97
1879.....	2,245,495,072 04	249,080,167 01	1,996,414,905 03	49,295,000	40 42	1 69
1880.....	2,120,415,370 63	201,088,622 88	1,919,326,747 75	50,858,000	37 74	1 56
1881.....	2,069,013,550 00	249,363,415 00	1,819,650,154 00	51,730,000	35 22	1 45
1882.....	1,918,312,994 00	243,289,520 00	1,675,023,474 00	52,695,000	31 72	1 09
1883.....	1,884,171,728 00	345,389,903 00	1,538,781,825 00	54,143,000	28 41	95

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